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‘Save Our Old Town’: Engaging developer-led masterplanning through
community renewal in Edinburgh

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(72,440 words)

Declaration

I declare that the work which has produced this thesis is entirely my own. This thesis represents my own original composition, which has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Christa B. Tooley

Abstract

Through uneven processes of planning by a multiplicity of participants, Edinburgh's built environment continues to emerge as the product of many competing strategies and projects of development. The 2005 proposal of a dramatic new development intended for an area of the city's Old Town represents one such project in which many powerful municipal and commercial institutions are invested. As one of the last remaining residential areas of the Old Town, the population of which has experienced in recent decades a gradual transformation towards transience, the Canongate became the focus of a heated campaign organised by remaining residents who sought to claim their rights to participation in the redevelopment of their neighbourhood. This thesis explores the efforts of these campaigners to accomplish a Deleuzian reterritorialisation of the Canongate, in the face of perceived threats to its community, territorial identity and built environment, represented by the development proposal named Caltongate. The remarkable success of the campaign in cultivating a sense of community belonging and mobilising residents in collaborative efforts at reimagining alternative futures for the Canongate was ultimately unable to affect Caltongate's approval through formalised bureaucratic procedures. Through an innovative programme of community research and representation, however, the campaigners have impacted subsequent community-led planning efforts throughout the Old Town, which emphasise small-scale development that is accountable to both the residential community and the built heritage of the Old Town. The relationship between the Canongate neighbourhood and the proposed Caltongate development, which is currently suspended in the depressed economic climate, emerges in this thesis as mutually constructive, as well as principally opposed.

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Introduction

Encountering the Canongate

On a brisk June afternoon in 2007, I turn the corner from South Bridge onto the Royal Mile, leaving a long line of breakfast and sandwich shops selling meals to go, budget clothing and home goods stores and a host of corner shops advertising Lotto tickets and the Daily Mail, for an unfolding vista of storefronts lined with kilts, postcards, scarves printed in various ‘clan tartans’ and tam o’ shanters in large display windows, fudge shops making candy while you watch, a large new hotel faced with a faux rubble façade, historic-looking pubs offering haggis and cock o’ leekie soup, the occasional sandwich or coffee shop and the very occasional corner shop, interspersed among the picturesque historic buildings featured on the postcards: John Knox’s House, the Canongate Tolbooth and the Canongate Kirk. The view from the corner of South Bridge is arresting yet frustratingly dim to the camera’s eye; to the west, the Royal Mile climbs a cobblestoned ascent that culminates in the impressive fortress that is Edinburgh Castle—or more precisely, a large parking lot with a portable trailer where you may purchase a ticket to see the castle for £11.

To the east, however, in the direction that the Canongate lies, the cobblestones of the Royal Mile slope steeply downward, narrowing from the wide South Bridge entrance as you approach the former Netherbow Port, site of the passage between the once distinct burghs of Canongate and Edinburgh. The sharp descent of the road and the continued slope of the land beyond it afford an improbable horizon of blue water—where the Firth of Forth opens to the great North Sea—the view incredibly framed between the tenements of the Canongate. If you

could see to the bottom of the road, which is obscured by its gradually curving shape, you would note that the colourful shops below the imposing stone tenements appear less prolific, and the street becomes all but residential, barring the new Starbucks, a smattering of the obligatory kilt and t-shirt shops and the well-established Ye Olde Christmas Shoppe. Out of this streetfront, relatively quiet for the Royal Mile, the historic grounds of Queensberry House, once a private mansion and later a reforming home for young women, and Whitefoord House, formerly a stately private residence and now a veteran's home complete with bowling greens, portend your encounter with two of the street's most notable and monumental structures, one historic and the other aspiring to this status, into which the Royal Mile terminates at a humble roundabout. The lacquered iron gates of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Queen's private residence in Edinburgh, face the Royal Mile across this roundabout, while the futuristic new Parliament building occupies the final lot on the southerly side; both structures are large and imposing, while hailing from dramatically different architectural imaginations, and each offers the chance to peruse a self-contained gift shop.

On 19 June 2007, a rather small and inconspicuous part of the Canongate's built environment mysteriously disappeared. Jock the Weathercock, a weather vane fixture atop the bell tower on the historically listed (Class C) Canongate Venture building, formerly the North Canongate Infant School, departed his roost with no advance warning. Jock's disappearance, as well as the subsequent local reaction to it, evidence not only a heightened state of concern for the area's built environment amongst residents, but also the cultivation of strategies of planning engagement by these inhabitants of the Canongate, which emerged during the 2006-2008 period of fieldwork undertaken for this thesis. In Jock's tale, presented below, I offer a glimpse of

residents' experiences of the Canongate during this period and present a characteristic example of their ongoing adaptations to such conditions of uncertainty.

Affectionately regarded amongst the Canongate residents, Jock's roost on the Canongate Venture building heightened his public profile considerably in the wake of the 2005 public presentation of a masterplan for development which would demolish that structure, a former Victorian school then sublet to multiple local businesses as office space. The Canongate residents who organised a campaign to prevent this masterplan's implementation and the building's consequent demolition took it upon themselves to keep watch over the Canongate Venture, as well as other structures intended in the plan for demolition, throughout the contentious period of the masterplan's consideration by the City of Edinburgh Council's planning committee. By June 2007, the resident campaigners had developed a deeply seated suspicion of the commercial developer's relationship with several members of the city council, through shared experiences of the futility of their own efforts to engage the masterplan in the capacity of members of the local community, who claimed their right to be consulted in the planning of their neighbourhood. Jock's abrupt departure therefore spurred several residents into immediate action, which they pursued through formal channels of political representation and planning code citation.



Left: Jock the Weathercock and bell tower atop Canongate Venture

Above: Bell tower timber in a skip on 19 June. Photos courtesy Canongate Community Forum.

When Jock's absence was noted on the morning of 19 June, residents scoured the surrounding area for clues. Though they did not find Jock, wood from his bell tower perch was located in a nearby skip, and Julie, a resident and trained town planner, promptly phoned planning enforcement officers and a conservation officer from the executive body Historic Scotland, who confirmed that they had received no notifications of any plans to deal with Jock in their departments. Upon this communication, Julie contacted a member of the local press and gave the following statement,

Is this what we are to expect for the future of buildings which developers wish to buy from the council in order to redevelop the land? Have the council completely given up their responsibility to follow proper procedures? The council officer responsible for authorising the work knew he needed planning consent, even if it were to be removed and replaced and had made the decision not to repair or restore this feature. Although the wood from the structure is chopped up, it is clearly *not* rotted in any way. Listed buildings are listed to protect them from unscrupulous developers. We have notified Historic Scotland, and we want the bell tower replaced and want Jock the Cock to be replaced. (Canongate Community Forum 2007b)

Julie and other campaigners speculated as to whether distinctive ‘architectural features’ were being removed or sanctioned for removal by members of the city council who supported the Caltongate masterplan, in order to ease the passage of plans to demolish the listed Canongate Venture. The idea was regarded as particularly repugnant by Julie, who cited planning code regulations and insisted upon the necessity of following ‘proper procedures’ in dealing with listed buildings. Carrying out such undocumented work on a listed building represented not only a violation of procedure, she elaborated, but a ‘criminal offence’. Furious with the potential perpetrators of such an offence and convinced that these deceptions had been carried out under councillors’ orders, she baited them in another statement:

We fully expect a retrospective planning application in, as the council will panic because the community has caught them out. This is a corrupt way to circumvent their responsibilities to listed buildings. This is criminal damage and unless it is repaired we will be pursuing this in the justice system. (Canongate Community Forum 2007b)

Julie emphasised the community’s role as planning watchdog and characterised ‘the council’ as corruptly implicated in a scheme to promote commercial development against the desires of the community, as well as established planning protections. Still, she and her fellow campaigners continued to utilise council resources to pursue this mystery, contacting their local ward representative when their own direct attempts to reach planning officers within the council failed to receive any response. Highlighting the futility of the residents’ attempts, it was only through the activities of the ward representative in pursuing the matter that formal council replies began trickling back to the residents, within a window of four to ten days.

The news was rather unremarkable: the bell tower had been removed because it was deemed by a survey team to be damaged and therefore a public safety hazard, and Jock himself

was being stored inside the Canongate Venture until the belltower could be reconstructed. Just why the conservation officers responsible for vetting such requests had received no notification of this action was not addressed, apart from noting that the works constituted ‘emergency measures’, so no planning consent was needed. Resident campaigners remain convinced that the explanation was merely retrospective and responsive to the inquiries and accusations of corruption levied by residents like Julie.

Jock the Weathercock’s disappearance, considered significant and symbolic by the resident campaigners, represented only a small incident in the course of the public debates over the Caltongate masterplan and the future of the Canongate. As an ethnographic vignette, however, it showcases some of the strategies developed by Canongate residents to engage the developer-led masterplanning of their neighbourhood, as well as the reluctance of municipal planning authorities to acknowledge the claims and requests made by these residents. The strategies of engagement with the formal planning process pursued in the above narrative represented one approach to negotiation with the supporters of Caltongate over conflicting visions of city futures, which were particularly invested in the development of its built environment. As the following chapters illustrate, however, the formalised procedures of city planning ultimately failed to provide the Canongate residents with the capacity for influencing the shaping of the city’s built environment which they sought, resulting in their imagination and pursuit of alternative projects of planning and development.

Such projects represent a central concern of this thesis, and through their emergence in subsequent chapters a host of issues are engaged, which elucidate relationships between urban residents and large-scale models of competitive city development, and residents’ resourceful pursuits of their right to the city, as well as the unstable nature of even historic urban territorial

identities and their vulnerabilities to the placemaking endeavours of development activities. This thesis asks to what degree urban residents can impact the shaping of their neighbourhoods in the face of masterplanned developments of urban growth coalitions and queries the usefulness of widespread beliefs as to community planning participation as good practice, when such participation is not supported by legal definitions nor outcome-sensitive planning procedures. The activities of Canongate residents, presented in a narrative of community engagement with the Caltongate masterplan, illustrate the wide range of opportunities for participating in local planning through small development projects, even in the face of residents' effective exclusion from formal consultation. City planning and development is treated as consisting in many ongoing projects pursuing often contested futures, inclusive of agents such as municipal authorities, commercial developers and architects, as well as a range of urban residents and invested organisations. This thesis engages such projects through consideration of the proposal for the Caltongate masterplan and its interactions with the spaces, forms and community of the Canongate, introduced above.

An introduction to the Canongate and Edinburgh

In many respects, the Canongate is a very ordinary place, where shop employees go about their daily business and encounter a variety of passers-by, for whom the neighbourhood variously represents centrally located lodgings for tourists, a quiet and standoffish stretch of the Royal Mile, or the mostly residential buffer zone between government workers hurrying in and out of offices of the Scottish Executive and their cars. Many other aspects of the Canongate, however, rank as rather extraordinary, from its early history as an independent monastic burgh in the 12th century, to its role in hosting the last Jacobite royal court. The Canongate's history was

so romantically imagined by Sir Walter Scott that he immortalised it in a collection of stories entitled, *The Chronicles of the Canongate* ([1827/1828] 2003).

The modern-day Canongate is situated within an area designated in by UNESCO in 1995 as one of Edinburgh's two World Heritage sites, which comprise the city's Old and New Towns. These two 'towns' represent successive stages in the city's ongoing development, the built environments of which reflect medieval and Georgian-era origins, respectively. While these World Heritage areas maintain architectural artefacts which, as millions of tourists can attest, offer a sense of historical encounter particularly accessible from pedestrian activities (cf. Richardson 2008), their roles within city development initiatives throughout Edinburgh, as well as its lowland neighbour Glasgow, have proven in recent years to be ambiguous and somewhat contentious.

As Scotland's second-largest city and political capital, Edinburgh has historically been identified with a culture of Anglicised refinement and a national prominence in finance (Hearn 2003; Munn 1994), by contrast to Glasgow's 'hybrid Celtic' culture and greater reliance upon heavy industries such as ship building (Hearn 2003). These two lowland cities continue to compete for the bulk of development opportunities in Scotland, aided by their greater geographical accessibility from England relative to other Scottish cities. Their approaches to such development have varied, with Glasgow having demolished large swathes of Victorian houses, for instance, to make way for new structures, while Edinburgh maintains its reputation as more conservative with respect to the care of its built heritage. Edinburgh's relative restraint with respect to new development in its historic areas has produced anxieties amongst some of the city's commercial and political leaders that Edinburgh development practices will drive

speculative ventures to Glasgow instead, thus leaving Edinburgh ‘behind’ in competitive terms (cf. Blackley 2007).

The framing of city planning within a larger game of interurban competition is not unique to Edinburgh, but rather represents a perspective which grew to prominence in Britain in the 1980s (Sadler 1993; cf. Harvey 1989) and has shaped urban development priorities across many European and North American cities (Chesluk 2008; Friedrichs and Dangschat 1993; Goodwin 1993; Parkinson and Bianchini 1993). These priorities, discussed in Chapter 2, have clashed with the conservation initiatives of Edinburgh’s professional heritage organisations increasingly over the past decade, as commercial developers have turned to the city centre for new development sites, and municipal planners have come to view this area as a prime source of tourism and business revenues. Simultaneously, the increased pace and scale of development in the city centre have prompted many city residents to imagine their own alternative projects and to pursue these potential futures through organised campaigns that challenge prevailing developer-led planning processes and seek community participation in the ongoing redevelopment of their city.

The Canongate became the object of such a developer-led attempt at redevelopment in 2005, following a period of entrepreneurial solicitation by prominent city leaders who emphasised the need for a dramatic overhaul of the area in order to promote Edinburgh’s competitive advantage. As a quiet, primarily residential neighbourhood of Scotland’s most famous street, by contrast to the abundances of cafés, pubs and mid-market tourist shops decorating the rest of the Royal Mile, the Canongate’s comparative wealth of low-cost council housing, proximity to the housing estate Dumbiedykes and predominant aesthetic of high stone tenement ‘cliffs’ was represented by proponents of redevelopment, such as a former council

leader, as ‘dingy’, ‘tired’ and unattractive. The central location of the Canongate, on Edinburgh’s primary tourist thoroughfare, prompted municipal and commercial leaders to re-imagine the Canongate as a potential destination for upmarket tourism and business and thus a competitive asset to the city. Conflicting representations of the area, as either a place with a long-term tightly-knit community (as claimed by current resident campaigners) or a place characterised by a sense of anomie amongst short-term residents (as concluded by a 2008 social research group) have clouded public perceptions of the Canongate’s identity as an urban territory (Dorling et al. 2008; Wade 2008). Such ambiguity has enabled council leaders to court commercial developers and encourage the developer-led design of a particular re-visioning of the Canongate area, in the form of the Caltongate masterplan.

The public release of the Caltongate masterplan in autumn 2005 represents the occasion for the particular investigations of this thesis. From 2005-2008, a residential campaign emerged in response to the redevelopment intentions of Caltongate and pursued extensive planning negotiations with the proponents of this development scheme. This thesis discusses residents’ engagements with the masterplan during and following that period, closing with activities undertaken in 2011 (and presently ongoing). Throughout Caltongate’s period as a live development proposal under consideration by members of the city council, residents pursued the adaptation of the masterplan according to their representations of community needs. Despite the many objections forwarded by the residents and their supporters in Edinburgh heritage organisations, however, the masterplan was accepted by the council in spring 2008. Evidencing their interests beyond the protesting of a particular development proposal, the residents, though deeply disappointed, extended their efforts to represent and transform the community living in the Canongate. Through a surprising twist of fate, the Caltongate masterplan, though council-

approved, lost its developer in the economic fallout of 2009, and it remains today a potential project of city development, while the residents continue to pursue the transformation of the Canongate's built environment and community through their design and organisation of multiple projects of community-led development.

The above narrative of development negotiations in the Canongate represents the context for this thesis' consideration of development as consisting of ongoing projects of city planning pursued by a multiplicity of participants, from commercial and municipal organisations, as well as residents' and other groups facilitating popular activism. Both Caltongate and the Canongate emerge as products of planning imaginations, orientated towards sometimes-conflicting visions of the city's future and its residents' wellbeing. The placemaking processes by which each vision is designed and discussed are engaged in the chapters which follow as ongoing and interested projects of subjects invested in the shaping of city forms and spaces.

Theoretical orientation of this thesis

Whereas anthropological engagements with urban development have sometimes tended to reproduce popular characterisations of the varied participants as either 'for' or 'against' development, through framings of the built environment as separately 'produced' and 'experienced' (cf. Low 2000), the processes of development I encountered in Edinburgh suggested instead a multiplicity of agendas, agents and actions irreducible to a binary categorisation. In expressing development as many ongoing processes of a city characterised by continuous motions rather than the stasis of its architecture, I have found the theoretical concepts of Gilles Deleuze to be particularly useful. Adapting a Deleuzian orientation to analysis of the

campaign of residents in the Canongate, I have also engaged Henri Lefebvre's conceptualisation of a 'right to the city', claimed by residents through their pursuits of planning participation.

Rather than emphasising the structuring nature of particular powers within a society, Deleuze highlights the existence of 'minorities' which maintain the capacity to subvert control by dominant regimes, by opening up new ways of thinking and new 'becomings'. A minority, as defined by Deleuze and Guattari, does not indicate a numerical status but rather a relationship of otherness to the majority, as a deviation from the normative model (Deleuze 1997: 173). As the model, the majority represents an ideal, or a 'standard measure'. Thus, 'man' (particularly white, Western, heterosexual man) constitutes the majority, despite being outnumbered by women and children (Smith 1998: xlii; see Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 321). The majority exists primarily as an ideal, rather than an actuality, as everyone represents some sort of deviation from the 'norm', but this does not impede the power nor persuasiveness of the majority as the structuring model. Minorities, however, constitute no such ideal, but come to existence through lines of flight from the majority, as projects of becoming which possess the capacity for eluding the structuring limits of the model by opening up new connections and possibilities (Deleuze 1997: 173). Deleuze and Guattari are particularly concerned with representing minorities as creating alternative trajectories to capitalist systems, and this representation supports my study of the residents in the Canongate (1987: 471).

In their design of Caltongate as a development attuned to the perceived desires of model urban consumers, primarily 'upmarket' business tourists and other visitors, I suggest that the proponents of this masterplan have pursued a majoritarian project of urban planning. The current residents of the Canongate found their own practices and desires for the neighbourhood excluded by this model, and they experienced their own trajectory of becoming-minor through

the proposal of Caltongate and their own responses to it. Caltongate proponents represented the development proposal as a project of action, by contrast to the residents' campaign, which was defined as a programme of resistance, and this dichotomisation effectively associated possibility and movement with the masterplan, as against its 'protesters'. Instead, I found that the residents' campaign represented a future-orientated project of becoming-minor, which although initially responsive to the proposal of Caltongate, subsequently provided opportunities for residents to embark upon alternative projects of development pursuant of the transformation of the Canongate according to community-derived desires. Representing the activities of the Canongate residents as a Deleuzian minority which opens up lines of flight from the majoritarian model of urban planning as an instrument in entrepreneurial strategies of interurban competition enables the analysis of this thesis to avoid mis-characterising the complex motivations and projects of this group as merely a NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) movement.

As Deleuze and Guattari have noted, implicit in identification as a minority is the need to struggle for status as a majority, for such a status implies the attainment of certain rights and recognitions (1987: 173). In the case of the Canongate, I show that the residents' campaign and post-campaign activities centred upon the pursuit of such rights, which I suggest should be identified collectively as Lefebvre's right to the city (1996). Richard Baxstrom has argued that an understanding of these rights cannot limit them to identity-based recognition, but must instead imply rights to ethical action, such as the shaping of the forms and spaces of the city itself (2008: 6-7). While I affirm Baxstrom's explication of Lefebvre's notion which emphasises the importance of residents' rights to an ethically ordered participation in the planning and use of the city's built environment, I assert that the significance of recognition itself should not be lost as a component of the right to the city. For the Canongate residents, recognition as the community of

the Canongate proved necessary in order to persuade city councillors, architects and commercial developers of their right to participate in the considerations of the viability of the Caltongate masterplan. This recognition represented an important aspect of their claim to legitimacy as participants in the formal planning process, according to prevailing views of good planning practice (see Abram 2006; Sorenson 2009; Weszkalnys 2008). Resident campaigners found that their recognition as the community of the Canongate was not automatically ascribed nor easily achieved, however, and they were consequently forced to pursue strategic projects of community and territorial representation, as described in chapters 4 and 5.

I suggest that the right to the city, inclusive of both recognition as the community of the Canongate and the right to shape the built environment's forms and uses as urban residents, is claimed by Canongate residents through their organisation of successive and overlapping projects of development by which they transform the meanings and uses of spaces and built forms in their neighbourhood, in the midst of pervasive uncertainties as to the area's future. As Baxstrom has shown in his work in urban Malaysia (2008), these uncertainties produce among residents particular coping strategies, and in the Canongate such strategies have been shaped by Caltongate proponents' representations of the Canongate as a non-place, lacking any resident community and therefore 'missing' a people (Deleuze 2005: 209). Such conditions required the residents to embark upon trajectories of becoming, by which they have struggled to reinvent themselves and reclaim a territorial identity for the Canongate, renewing a sense of the Canongate as both a distinct place and a vital community. As a Deleuzian minority pursuing a majority status and concomitant rights, residents not only contributed to their case for inclusion in formal planning processes, but they also produced possibilities for imagining and achieving community-derived development goals, as alternatives to the majoritarian model.

The following chapters engage the planning of Caltongate as a particular event in Edinburgh's ongoing projects of urban development, which is represented as following the model of the majority and thus attending to the competitive demands of city marketing. Canongate residents' responses to the proposal of this masterplan are discussed as the alternative projects of becoming in which this minority has invested; the interactions between the visions of the future represented respectively by Caltongate and the Canongate residents' campaigns emphasise the connections and movements which constitute the continuous planning and development of the city of Edinburgh. In particular, this thesis elucidates the always-multiple processes of city planning and addresses issues related to the imagination of place, practices of community identification and planning participation, and the possibilities for alternative development practices in an era of international interurban competition. The Canongate emerges through this analysis as a place of great significance to competing visions of Edinburgh represented as a place and a people, which will continue to be the subjects of localised negotiations over new development masterplans in years to come.

Significance of the Canongate case

The transformations of cities during the past twenty years in response to perceived demands of competitive advantage in a zero-sum game of interurban competition has been well-documented by urban planners, geographers, anthropologists and others (see Ghent Urban Studies Team 1999; Harvey 1989; Krugman 1996; Van den Berg and Braun 1999; Zhang 2006). The entrepreneurial redevelopment of aging urban built environments is rapidly producing new areas of commerce and tourism, but its impact upon existing residential populations has only begun to be assessed. Through ethnographic research, engagements with residents' experiences

of interacting with such development projects enables these large-scale projects to be considered within the context of the everyday practices by which the world is encountered and possibilities are negotiated.

This thesis investigates the proposal of an interurban competitive model of development as it is engaged by residents through multiple projects of becoming, avoiding the distortions of false dichotomisation and oversimplification by presenting the residents through their own pursuits of imagined futures, not limited to their direct challenges to Caltongate itself. This approach enables recognition of the many Deleuzian lines of flight breaking through the structuration of Caltongate and the intentions of its powerful proponents, in the form of campaigners' re-presentations of the Canongate and the rallying of its residents around revitalised ideals of community life. Such observations would be all but invisible to analysis which focussed upon the formal procedures of planning, by which Caltongate was officially considered and ultimately accepted, then unceremoniously (and temporarily?) abandoned. Instead, long-term work with the campaigners, extending even two years after the completion of the campaign to halt Caltongate, has revealed the ways in which these residents have been motivated by the proposal of the Caltongate masterplan to pursue active roles as local planners and developers, claiming their rights, as members of the Canongate community, to shape the forms and spaces of the city through creative and assertive strategies, despite their effective exclusion from the formal planning processes.

Situating the contemporary case of the Canongate within the history of Edinburgh's development reveals the particularity of the development projects pursued by residents as well as municipal planners and private developers and architects. As such, the international phenomenon of interurban competition is contextualised within the practices, meanings and

projects of development by which Edinburgh has emerged as the architecturally symbolic capital city of Scotland. The proposal for Caltongate is grounded in the aspirations of local politicians and business leaders, who are themselves suspended in translocal webs of politics and commerce (Comaroff 1997). Analysis of the complex relationship between the Canongate and Caltongate thus requires engagement with planning as an instrument of urban governmentality, community activism, and placemaking as a multiply accomplished, never-ending project of everyday practices. The case of the Canongate problematises the construal of planning as an endeavour accomplished by those individuals and organisations occupying dominant positions within a society and refracts an observer's attention through the lens of a Deleuzian minority, while identifying such individuals' creative responses to formal exclusion in city planning.

Organisation of the thesis

The first chapter of this thesis situates the current case within a theoretical and historical context, before presenting in Chapter 2 the Caltongate masterplan within the immediate context of its proposal, and discussing the emergence of the Canongate residents' campaign in Chapter 3. The fourth and fifth chapters engage subsequent efforts of campaigners to organise their own projects of development, emphasising the significance of historical reconstructions and an ongoing programme of community activism, respectively. The structure of the thesis follows a roughly chronological organisation, to more clearly communicate the progress of events by which the masterplan was produced and the projects, which collectively constituted the residents' campaign, emerged over the 2005-2011 period considered in this work.

A consideration of urban planning as a subject of anthropological interest opens Chapter 1, situating this thesis within the existing literature on the planning and development of cities and further elucidating my theoretical positioning. A summary of the historical development of Edinburgh's built environment follows, emphasising the nature of this process as fragmented and multiple, such that the architectural artefacts of previous eras throughout Edinburgh display a host of influences: French Catholic, Dutch Reformed, English suburban, Highland romanticism, Classical romanticism, Enlightenment rationalism, Victorian grandeur, modernism, and many more. The historically contingent production of Edinburgh's city centre as the 'Old Town' is identified as a key development in the history of the Canongate, as are the accompanying municipal investments in industry and suburban expansion. The subsequent reforming efforts of Patrick Geddes are shown to have influenced the city's responses to the problem of central 'slums' in the Old Town, as well as latterly emergent heritage conservation organisations, which have in turn inspired the activities of Canongate's resident campaigners, as discussed in following chapters.

Chapter 2 introduces the Caltongate masterplan itself, as a product of the placemaking negotiations of municipal and commercial leaders in Edinburgh, and closely attendant to their perceptions of the city's requirements for competitive advantage in interurban competition, as well as its heightened national publicity since its 1999 assignation as parliamentary capital. Discussion of the council's role in attracting private development to the Canongate area highlights the entrepreneurial approach taken by this municipal organisation. The resultant alliance forged between Caltongate's proponents is shown to obfuscate tensions between some participants, which have emerged primarily over concerns as to the prioritisation of capital gains above other interests. Nevertheless, Caltongate's proponents were united by their convictions as

to the necessity of this development, in competitive terms, and the various components of Caltongate are compared to national and international urban development trends which collectively represent a majority model, in Deleuzian terms. Caltongate was presented to the public as a large-scale transformation of a ‘derelict’ area, and this is the presentation engaged by Canongate residents in the subsequent chapter.

At the outset of Chapter 3, I suggest that the claims of Caltongate proponents that the Canongate needed redevelopment resonated with many of the complaints that current residents voiced as to the current trajectory of the neighbourhood. Residents had noted that housing practices favouring individual private lets had been forcing families out of the Canongate, contributing to the ongoing degradation of the community itself. When the Caltongate masterplan was presented to the public, therefore, the campaign-organising residents faced the compounded problem not only of motivating people to action but also of cultivating a sense of belonging to the Canongate amongst the current residents. I argue that such cultivation was undertaken through the events of the campaign, in which the residents emerged as a Deleuzian minority pursuant of lines of flight from the Caltongate model of development. The campaign itself, I suggest, constituted a project of reterritorialisation (Deleuze 1977) in the face of perceived threats, in the form of Caltongate, to maintaining the distinct identity and residential community of the Canongate. Through the campaigners’ attempts to negotiate their rights to be considered as planning participants in the council’s consideration of Caltongate, I show that the residents began to imagine their own alternative models of development, despite the fact that the immediate concerns for preventing Caltongate’s implementation forced them to delay their pursuits of these development projects until a later date. Ultimately, the consultation programme conducted by the developers and city council was considered by the residents as disingenuous in

its promises of community representation, and the passage of Caltongate as a masterplan for development in February 2008 left them temporarily lost for a strategic response. As the following chapters discuss, however, the experiences of this campaign have informed the projects subsequently pursued by the campaigners, and which may be regarded as more successful than the initial campaign itself.

The fourth chapter begins with the observation that the campaigners failed to persuade the proponents of Caltongate as to their representation of the Canongate residential community and suggests that on this basis, the masterplan's supporters denied the campaigners' claims to a right to the city. By representing the community of the Canongate as 'missing' from the organised campaign events, Caltongate proponents sought to negate their own culpability to popular perceptions of the ethical necessity of community planning participation. This failure, which evidenced the campaigners' role as Deleuzian minority struggling for recognition, is represented as the occasion for their subsequently developed programme of community research and renewal, called the Canongate Project. I argue that the component events of this programme represented the campaigners' attempts to construct a place-based collective ethos of dwelling that is rooted in idealised reconstructions of the historical Canongate community and emphasises residents' ethical responsibility to engage in practices of community activism. The conducting of a reminiscence project afforded particular opportunities for engaging representations of the Canongate's past, bringing themes from former residents' remembrances of life in the area during the 1940s and 1950s to bear on the contemporary campaign to recover and renew the sense of 'community spirit' which was widely attributed to the Canongate in reminiscences. This reminiscence project, together with the rest of the Canongate Project, helped to shape

campaigners' imaginations of a distinctly Canongotian ethos, which would inform their ongoing projects of area and community development, discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 engages the expansion of Canongate-based campaigners' efforts to reterritorialise the Canongate, into a programme of community-based activism performed throughout the Old Town, in the creation of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust. In the absence of an immediate threat from Caltongate, the future of which remains uncertain, residents in the Old Town have joined with several campaigners from the Canongate to address that larger area's vulnerability to many of the same processes leading to the flight of long-term residents which have been experienced in the Canongate. Through interaction with the activities undertaken by this organisation, I show that residents have been designing and pursuing projects of development which reflect the idealised ethos of dwelling described in Chapter 4. I argue that the pursuit of these projects represents a creative response to the Canongate campaigners' experience of exclusion from the formal processes of planning, through which they and their fellow Old Town activists attempt to claim their right to shape the spaces and forms of the city. In this way, the Caltongate masterplan has, I suggest, influenced residents' imagination and pursuit of alternative projects of planning participation, such that the future trajectories of the Canongate's development have already been transformed by Caltongate's proposal. As Caltongate's future still remains to be decided, I argue that the potentialities respectively represented by this development and the area it is intended to transform should be represented as intertwined, despite the opposition between the futures imagined by their proponents.

Methodology

My fieldwork was undertaken in Edinburgh from autumn 2006- summer 2008, followed by a two-week visit in 2010, after the proposal for Caltongate had been shelved. Twenty formal interviews, typically lasting from an hour to two hours, and a dozen hours of reminiscence sessions, combined with council planning meeting meetings, protest campaign meetings, and community council meetings, were transcribed and added to daily field notes from my interaction with residents and observations firstly as a Canongate pedestrian, later as a shop employee (winter-summer 2008), and finally as a contributor to the residents' Canongate Project (spring 2008). The interviews represented an array of individuals who publicly spoke out either for or against Caltongate, including city councillors, architects, representatives from Edinburgh's major architectural heritage organisations (Cockburn Association, Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, Edinburgh World Heritage Trust and Historic Scotland), a private sector city planner, city residents not involved in the protest and others who did contribute to protest activities, shop owners and employees in the Canongate, and activists from other causes related to development in Edinburgh (Gardyloo, Porty Green Keepers, Save Meadowbank, Save Glenogle Baths and Friends of Corstorphine Hill), in addition to many Old Town residents.

As an American conducting my research in an English-speaking city in Western Europe, I was faced with the temptation to discount the need for ethnographic distance and believe that I was regarded wholly as a peer by my interlocutors, a distortion Alexandra Jaffe describes in painfully vivid detail, relaying her own fieldwork experiences in Corsica (Jaffe 1993). This false familiarity felt especially natural when engaging the Canongate residents in intimate settings such as a family flats. Such impressions ultimately, however, had to be restrained by my commitment to ethnographic fieldwork, which, 'whether the context is Western or exotic', is

‘essentially the same process’; it is still constituted in ‘describing... the culture of other people’ (Augé & Colley 2006: 24-25). As an ethnographer in a familiar context, I strove to maintain a tension between my roles as ‘stranger and friend’, in conversation with the individuals with whom I worked (cf. Powdermaker 1966).

My research was shaped in part by several factors which influenced the access I was able to gain to persons formally involved in creating the Caltongate masterplan or required to make the decision for or against it. As a PhD student requesting interviews from officials in large established corporations, I had little to offer the interview candidates, who were elites in their professional and social circles. My attempts to obtain an interview from anyone in the development firm Mountgrange Plc. or the architecture firm of Allan Murray and Associates, for example, reflect the difficulties which plague the ‘anthropology of elites’ (cf. Marcus et al 1983). Characterising the attitude such firms adopt in their relations with the public (including anthropologists), Chris Shore has noted that ‘the degree of control a[n elite] group can exercise over access is, in fact, one measure of its power’ (2002: 11). Furthermore, although elected city representatives were willing to speak to me in theory, the City of Edinburgh Council’s rules prohibited its members discussing the Caltongate masterplan while the proposal was live.

After the development proposal was abandoned in spring of 2009, following the withdrawal of Mountgrange’s funding by Halifax Bank of Scotland, I was able to return in autumn of 2010 to conduct interviews with persons who had been unavailable during the council’s consideration and debate over Caltongate. Expositions of pro-Caltongate arguments and their consideration in light of the logic and strategic components of interurban competition have benefitted from these later interviews with city councillors and a contributing Caltongate architect, the openness of which reflects the candour of hindsight and ambitions past. Far from

indicating a weakness in the research, however, such events enabled me to direct my ethnographic research to the Canongate itself—its community, constitutive practices and the ongoing construction of meanings and desires which motivated the campaign to halt Caltongate. The extensive use of publicity to market Caltongate has meant that many pro-Caltongate arguments remain available in archives of *The Scotsman* and *The Edinburgh Evening News*, and relevant articles have supported my discussion of Caltongate in the chapters which follow.

The representation of residents in the Canongate in this thesis is predominantly female, a fact which reflects the leadership of the protest group (in which the three most actively invested individuals are women) and the reminiscence respondents (which involved five men and twenty-one women). The population of the Canongate itself is slightly more male than female, though statistics hover around a fifty-fifty equal share.¹ The slight overrepresentation of females amongst my informants reflects the fact that they do not represent a random sampling of the population, but rather a self-selected group. Within the campaign, the women's leadership may be related to these individuals' relative freedom from the requirement of workplace attendance; the two primary leaders were unemployed throughout the campaign, and the third worked part-time. The male partners of these women (who were full-time employees) contributed to the campaign on weekends, or by keeping the children while the women worked on campaign duties, while the most active male campaign participant was retired. Experiences of the gendered nature

¹ Utilising data from the 2001 census records, as available on the Scottish Census Records Online website (www.scrol.gov.uk), seven 'output areas' are contained within the contiguous territory of the Canongate. The large number of males in one output area is owed to the location of the male-dominated Whiteford House veterans' residence in that area, and so the data on gender representation of the population from this output area was not included in the calculating of typical gender representation patterns for the Canongate as a whole. The gender ratio of males to females throughout the rest of the Canongate averages to *almost* 50:50, leaning to the males by two-tenths of a percentage point (50.2: 49.8).

of life in the Canongate did not constitute a significant theme in ethnographic interviews, nor in campaign-related discussions of Caltongate.²

The age of informants ranged from 16-72, with the largest quantity falling within the 25-44 range which, according to the 2001 census, represents on average 33% (the largest age group) of the population for the four output areas constituting the Canongate (Scottish Census Records Online 2001). The individuals interviewed from the Canongate therefore represent the protest campaign against Caltongate very closely. Through interaction with a combination of current and former residents, shop owners and employees, my interlocutors constructed for me their own images and memories of the Canongate, creating a distinct place out of fragmentary perspectives and impressions. Through interviews with city officials, architects and numerous public records of pro-Caltongate discourse, Caltongate was similarly constructed as a particular would-be place, suspended among contested hopes for the Canongate's future.

² The only explicit invocation of gender I encountered came from a self-employed (female) architect, living outside the Canongate but contributing to the campaign, who when discussing trends in architecture suggested that architectural training emphasised 'masculine' design, that is, abstracted from experience and unattuned to the importance of establishing the 'feel' of a place. Because her observations concerned issues specific to architectural design and were not picked up by residents, I have not made them an analytical focus of this thesis.

Chapter 1

City Planning: Becoming Edinburgh

In every city there is much of beauty and more of possibility; and thus for the town planner as artist, the very worst of cities may be the best.

Patrick Geddes (1915: 364)

The city of Edinburgh has been shaped by the cumulative effects of centuries of local, regional and international influences on urban planning, often fragmentary and occasionally grand in ambition. Its architectural ‘deposits’, left from the many and varied eras of style and function, have peppered the city’s built environment with a host of historical artefacts in the form of buildings. The social history of Edinburgh’s planning has also left its deposits in the careful cultivation of emergent place identities, from the recent transformation of various disparate city blocks into a coherent ‘financial district’, to the evolution of a Victorian hospital into an upmarket residential development.

Such transformations of the built environment, inscribed with multiple intentions and pursuant of often conflicting ambitions, are the concern of this chapter. Engagement with Edinburgh’s histories of planning and development is situated within the context of the anthropology of the built environment and of city planning in particular. Through this reflective analysis, the fluid and contested processes by which cities are made into places and the practices of everyday life by which these places are engaged and constituted are illuminated, and discussion of such processes in Edinburgh provides the context for subsequent chapters’ consideration of the planning, reception and multiple meanings of the Caltongate development.

The built environment

The built environment, broadly defined as ‘the products of human building activity’ includes all forms of architecture, but also the spaces created between strictly defined ‘buildings’, such as plazas and alleys (Lawrence and Low 1990: 454). Its built forms include various structures, as big as a city block and as small as a window frame, which have been meaningfully constituted by particular individuals and social groups (Lawrence and Low 1990: 454). From the earliest anthropological undertakings, interest in the built environment has proceeded partly to provide a substantive backdrop for social interaction, but mostly out of a conviction that the organisation and production of built forms communicate something significant about the builders and inhabitants themselves.

Early theories of the built environment, influenced by the evolutionary and functionalist perspectives of Emile Durkheim and Lewis Henry Morgan, represented built forms as integrated outworkings of a distinct social, economic and political order, constructed to accommodate certain cultural and ritual activities in a broadly functional manner (cf. Mauss and Beauchat 1979). Such conceptualisations, popular among the students of Franz Boas as well as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, focussed on form and structure as the most significant aspects of native architecture, and for several decades the primary interest of anthropologists and architects would centre upon explaining variations in the physical forms produced by ‘traditional cultures’, by recourse to ecological and social theories (Lawrence and Low 1990: 456-9). The emergence of symbolic accounts of structural form in the 1970s (Hugh-Jones 1979) marked an increased interest in the meanings and values associated with particular built forms and patterns of spatial organisation, but continued to support a view of the built environment as reflecting, rather than shaping, a particular social order (Lawrence and Low 1990: 466).

The potential for the built environment to shape human behaviour was theorised by both Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, who through the consideration of their respective objects of analysis, the Kabyle house (Bourdieu 1973), the clinic (Foucault 1973) and the prison (Foucault 1975), demonstrated that spatial organisation represented a central element in the socialisation of modern subjects. While Bourdieu's spatial concerns centred upon the practices of domestic life, Foucault's interest in space reflected a larger project of the excavation of historical power/knowledge regimes which had often operated through government instrumentalities. Although Foucault only dealt specifically with urban planning in one lecture (Rabinow 2003), his conceptualisation of spatialised tactics of control operationalised through the application of specialised 'expert' knowledge as an effective technique of the governmentality of the nation-state (Foucault 1991) has proven particularly influential to anthropological analyses of modern planning. Since Foucault, planning itself has been treated as an instrument of this governmentality which operates indirectly, through the shaping and ordering of spaces, people and goods, rather than through the direct oppression of political subjects (Weszkalnys 2008: 251).

Recognition of the close relationship between city planning and the concentration of power among urban elites is not itself dependent upon Foucault (cf. Rykwert 1976), having been prominent as well in a historically Marxian strain of theorising (cf. Castells 1977, 1978; Harvey 1973, 1985; Lefebvre 1991, 2003). Adaptations of the Foucauldian conceptualisation of the city as an object for governmental analysis and control, effected through the administrative discourses and manoeuvres of modern planning, however, has enabled anthropologists to articulate the varied means and effects of urban planning throughout a broad scope of historical and contemporary contexts. The emergence of modern planning, attributed to the spatialising of

new ideas about social reform in the nineteenth century (Hall 1988; Ladd 1990; Rabinow 1989), pervaded both European and colonial contexts (Alsayyad 1992; Home 1997; Mitchell 1988; Rabinow 1989) and was embedded in discourses about ‘common good’ and benevolent intervention (Foucault 1991; cf. Le Corbusier 1985). Interested transformations of postcolonial spaces have been noted to reflect similar concerns of a governmentality operationalising privileged knowledge of the collective good (Baxstrom 2008; Ferguson 1999; Holston 1989; Kusno 2000; Scott 1998). Through the use and expansion of Foucault’s ideas of space, the city and governmentality, therefore, the practices, discourses and images of urban planning have been established as objects of social and political analysis, and planners’ protestations of professional neutrality have been persuasively challenged (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002).

Cities as places, plans and possibilities

As the above considerations of planning illuminate, cities are not shaped in isolation by the professionalised ministrations of expert planners; they are subject to innumerable practices and strategies of place-making, of which planning administrators represent only a particular (if powerful) segment. Analyses of such varied place-making efforts construe place identities as fluid and participant in ongoing, often contested processes of meaningful construction and reconstruction by interested individuals and social groups. These conceptualisations of place and place identities have built upon Appadurai’s demonstration that ‘locality’ is a characteristic which must be produced, rather than an inherent or natural quality (Appadurai 1996) and Gupta and Ferguson’s persuasive argument that cultural formulations of identity are not inextricably linked to a particular geographic location (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Characterisations of the processes by which places are attributed distinctive identities as ‘place-making’ have enabled

commentators to highlight the indeterminate nature of places, especially in large urban centres, where competing conceptualisations and narratives of place can be mobilised for various causes, identities and projects (cf. Feuchtwang et al. 2004; Rotenberg and McDonogh et al. 1993).

Often the most powerful participants in the making of places since the late 1970s, whose amassed resources grant them disproportionate influence in shaping cities' built environments, have been identified as local growth coalitions consisting of alliances between municipal government, local commercial representatives and property developers (Logan and Molotch 1987; Loftman and Nevin 1992 et al; Jonas et al. 1999). A primary objective of such alliances seeks the redevelopment of capital-poor urban areas, in order to attract investments from outwith the city (Fainstein 1994; Harvey 1989; Kearns and Philo et al. 1993; McDonogh 1999; Zukin 1995). The resulting condition of international interurban competition for capital investment and its mobile population of young professionals has become a justifying rationale for extensive urban redevelopment projects throughout Western Europe and North America (Bianchini et al. 1993; Chesluk 2008; Gordon 1999; Harvey 1989; Loftman and Nevin 1996; Rutheiser 1999) while urban expansionist discourse in postcolonial, postsocialist and late socialist contexts have tended instead to emphasise the necessity of such projects to 'catch up' or compare favourably with the West (Caldeira 2008; Fehérváry 2002; Kusno 2000; Zhang 2006).

Despite the strong influence these coalitions have exerted over the built environments of cities, even their plans do not translate directly to forms, and the conflicts that arise between formalised bureaucratic place-making efforts and those everyday spatial practices which constitute daily life in cities (De Certeau 1984) have often been generative sites of insight into the processes by which places are experienced, identified and enfolded into the lives of 'ordinary' people (Baxstrom 2008; Holston 1989; Hsu 2010; Sorenson 2009; Weszkalnys 2010).

Such analyses have avoided simplified dichotomies between the plans ‘from above’ and the protests ‘from below’, in favour of presenting the complex negotiations between agentic strategies, contested meanings and the personal and institutional victories and vulnerabilities through which cities are continuously made and re-made.

The increasing interest in allocations for public participation in planning since the 1960s (Sorenson 2009: 210) represents a recognition and valuation of the multi-party character of planning in urban areas. Movements by planners to engage the public, particularly representatives of surrounding residential communities, have been promoted as efforts in ‘sustainable’ planning as well as ‘community consultation’, but formalised definitions and expectations of such participation have remained elusive. Acknowledgement of this trend in planning must therefore avoid glossing over the myriad obstacles to full public participation in this still primarily professionalised domain, ranging from the vagueness of the idea of ‘participation’ itself, which lacks legal clarity and therefore support, to the intimate knowledge of planning regulations and procedure required by participants to stake a claim in this territory of expertise (Sorenson 2009; Weszkalnys 2008), and the continued emphases on new developments’ contributions to the urban economy which heavily weight municipal governments’ preferences, and therefore support, towards the capital-centric planning solutions of professional planners and developers (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Hall and Hubbard et al. 1998; Harvey 1989).

The ‘problem’ of public participation in the shaping of city spaces and practices has been cast by Lefebvre (1996) as a question of residents’ ‘right to the city’. According to Lefebvre, these rights do not represent merely individual rights to pursue one’s interests in the city, but rather they express urban residents’ rights to shape the city itself. While never formalised in any

legal code (Holston 2009b: 247), the idea of such rights has found purchase among many urban residents and their advocates, such that resident-based place-making efforts have exerted some influence over planning results, even if rarely on a large or radical scale (Abram 2006; Hague and Jenkins et al. 2005; Healey 1997; Innes and Booher 2004; Sanoff 2000; Sharp and Connelly 2002; Sorenson 2009; Weszkalnys 2010). The impact of residents and local organisations upon planning in any particular urban area depends primarily on the effectiveness of the group itself in mobilising a host of potential resources, from wider public support to practical knowledge of the planning system, personal contacts and communal activism, rather than depending upon the clearly defined legal obligations of an institutional subject, which describe and protect residents' rights to participation in the planning process.

In the face of formal exclusion from influencing planning outcomes, resistance in the form of activities forbidden by planning codes or avoided by majority practice often represent alternative attempts to shape urban spaces and their uses (Hsu 2010; Klugh 2010). From informal economic activities to 'squatting' practices, residents may claim their rights to the city through participation in the shaping of its spaces, populations and activities, even when this participation is rendered illegal by prevailing legal codes. Holston has characterised these practices, including the instrumentalisation of varied knowledges, networks of influence, strategies and manoeuvres, as constituting part of the development of an upswelling 'insurgent citizenship' which seeks incorporation into a legitimised national and urban identity (Holston 2009a, 2009b). The fact that many of these claims are staked through spatial practices related to housing in urban centres and peripheries emphasises the significance of participation in the shaping of the city's spaces and places to the meaningful practices of everyday life and ongoing processes of subjectivation for urban residents. 'Subjectivation' is the term used by Deleuze to

describe (and prescribe) Foucault's conceptualisation of the ongoing and open processes by which selves are constituted, and I affirm with Deleuze and Foucault this characterisation of the self as an unfinished project, rather than a common-sensical product of habit, memory and social conventions (Deleuze 1988b: 114). Considering participation in shaping the city which one inhabits as a significant desire of the fluid, processual self, I suggest that such participation is not concerned merely with the cultivation of the present, but rather the right to imagine and pursue a future in the city and a future for the city.

Richard Baxstrom has elaborated Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city in such a way, in his work with a community in Brickfields, Kuala Lumpur. Baxstrom suggests that Lefebvre's right to the city is 'not invested in certain stabilities of identity, but rather in the potential of individuals to realise an ethical self from a host of presubjective possibilities' (Baxstrom 2008: 6). The right to the city, the right to participate in the shaping of its spaces, is fundamentally concerned with 'potentialities' and 'possibilities', and is therefore orientated toward uncertain futures. The inhabitants of Brickfields develop complex means of coping with their inability to imagine a future in their unpredictably moving, shifting neighbourhood. The Brazilian interlocutors of Holston, on the other hand, perceive possibilities of influence and therefore imagine a future in which they are invested citizens rather than marginalised others, seeking to effect this future through their actions (Holston 2009a, 2009b).

Whether formally excluded from participation in shaping the spaces of the city or engaged in the representation of community planning rights through the official planning process, would-be place-makers are concerned with participation in imagining the future and bringing desired futures to fruition. Through wranglings over the uses, forms and meanings of particular places in the city which represent much of the debate and protest involved in the

proposal and implementation of a development project, local planning administrators, commercial developers, residents and local business owners and workers negotiate between many imagined futures for the city and for themselves. As Weszkalnys (2008, 2010) has shown, it is often not a radical vocabulary of difference which divides proponents of various plans or ideas for a particular place in the city but rather a difference in the definition of central shared concepts, particularly those concerned with the defining of planning's social responsibility to the common good (cf. Foucault 1991).

Development with Deleuze

The future orientation of city planning, as an activity by nature in flux, and its multiplicity of participants, both professional and lay, beg for analysis which does not seek to reduce or simplify but rather to portray the motion of the city and the indeterminate nature of its places, under the constant negotiation of influences among the many organisations and individuals interested in affecting its forms, meanings and uses. This essay seeks to respect these qualities of the city of Edinburgh and the varied and often contested means by which its places have been made and are remade, with attention to a host of participants involved in the planning of a particular development, named Caltongate, from city councillors to developers, architects, prominent business and tourism representatives, small business owners and workers, residents, members of heritage organisations and neighbourhood groups. All of these actors have imagined their own futures for the area planned for Caltongate, and even amongst the proponents of the development, expectations and interpretations of the planning outcomes vary.

As Biehl and Locke have argued (2010), Gilles Deleuze offers particularly useful points of interlocation for anthropologists who are confronted daily with just such unfinished strategies,

plans and imaginations. Deleuze's work is immanently concerned with the nature of 'becoming', as a continuous rhizomatic movement by which individuals and collectivities create connections, pathways and 'a life' in the face of apparent structures, rigidities and limitations. Rather than representing progression or regression along a known series, Deleuze and Guattari insist that '[b]ecoming is a verb with a consistency all its own; it does not reduce to, or lead back to, "appearing", "being", "equalling" or "producing"' (1987: 263). Biehl and Locke have found in Deleuze's attention to the unanticipated movements and trajectories developed by and between subjects inspiration to attend to 'our receptivity to others', as anthropologists who represent and interpret the complex lives, strategies and often uncategorisable trajectories of becoming by which our interlocutors in the field cultivate 'a life' (Biehl and Locke 2010: 318). Utilising and adapting Deleuze's conceptions of becoming to represent the multiplicity of possible futures pursued by actors as the never-finished, never-begun arcs of transformation by which they create selves in their life-long projects of subjectivation can remind us to perceive and represent the multiple connectivities coursing through our own ethnographic experiences and expressed in various ways by our interlocutors.

Among the persons we encounter in the field, we never find stasis but rather always find people invested in a, or more likely multiple, trajectories of becoming. The many participants involved in the planning of this particular development in Edinburgh, a category in which I include those who resist it, since in their resistance they seek to effect their own plans for the area, encounter Caltongate at a particular juncture in time, space and motion. Their various encounters with planning do not suggest the reified categories and identities of 'for' and 'against', but rather the uncertainties, strategies of movement, shifting alliances and suspicions which indicate that the proposal for Caltongate in Edinburgh represented for them an ongoing

event, undetermined and implicated centrally in many intersecting anticipations and projects of the future, which had not begun with nor have yet ended with consideration of the proposal itself.

This perspective on planning illustrates Deleuze's imagination of society as consisting not merely in the 'segmentations' of knowledge, identity and territory by which in any particular era the majority understand social space, but instead constituted by a quality of openness.³ This basic openness refuses the ultimate limitations of segmentation, resulting in the resilience expressed by 'lines of flight', by which new becomings may 'leak' through even the disciplinary divisions described by Foucault (Rajchman 2001: 99), indicating the latency of powers and connections unimagined by the dominant regimes. Deleuze's conceptualisation of social space as inclusive of a 'zone of indistinction' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) characterised by unknown outcomes suggests that even the careful attempts to actualise a particular vision of the future articulated by a masterplan like Caltongate contain within them the possibility for subversion by planning participants who, motivated and enabled by this planning event, pursue other becomings.

In the chapters which follow, I explore the planning of Caltongate as an event which reveals and produces many new connections between actors in the city of Edinburgh and beyond, through which residents pursue their rights to participate in the planning of the city, while city officials and commercial architects and developers attempt to negotiate this widely felt but nonlegislated responsibility. The residents' insistence upon the historical and social significance of the existing area, known as the Canongate, in the face of many prominent development supporters' reluctance to acknowledge even the name of the neighbourhood for which Caltongate

³ 'Majority' for Deleuze is not an issue of numbers but of cultural dominance: the model. By contrast a 'minority', which may be larger in number, is unfolding through an unmodelled process of becoming (Deleuze 1990).

and its transformations are intended, manifests itself in the cultivation of new relationships with the city's prominent heritage organisations and other community groups, as well as a residentially-organised community research project, by which the neighbourhood of the Canongate is re-presented and re-valorised. The events which unfold, however, represent a recent manifestation of Edinburgh's history of planning, by which the city's built environment has stretched, buckled and recoiled itself in centuries of birthing pains. The past ambitions and accidents captured in the forms and spaces of the city today represent deposits of previous knowledges, strategies and alliances that have shaped the trajectories of planning out of which Caltongate and its alternatives emerge.

In the following section, therefore, I present a necessarily abbreviated history of the major planning events and developments which have constituted the interested participation of Edinburgh's residents in effecting (often conflicting) visions for the city's future. Through the telling of this tale, the seeming inevitability of Edinburgh's distinctive and often monumental architecture is revealed to consist in many contingent products of many competing schemes, and planning itself breaks apart into a multiplicity of becomings, projects pursued, accomplished or abandoned by a host of participants, rather than a steadily executed programme designed by a professionalised party of experts. This section intends to show how the city centre of Edinburgh, its Old Town and the Canongate in particular, have been shaped and identified by these multiple processes of planning and the diversity of actors who have invested in shaping urban spaces and forms. The conflicts and alliances through which meanings have been attributed to the places of the city are highlighted, and the history of Edinburgh's development is presented as an interested and disjointed negotiation between many planning participants.

A history of the development of Edinburgh

The origins of settlement in what is today the city of Edinburgh developed along the geographical formation of a 'crag and tail' formed by glacial erosion, atop which archaeological remains have evidenced over two thousand years of habitation. Records of much of this settlement history are sparse but tantalising, leading some to suggest that Edinburgh's Castle Rock played a part in Arthurian legend (Koch 1997). By the twelfth century A.D. the major thoroughfare and basic organisation of housing and commerce were established between two adjacent but distinct burghs, Edinburgh and the Canongate. Together these burghs would eventually constitute the modern-day Old Town of Edinburgh, but their origins reflect the varied intentions and influence of Scottish royalty, Roman Catholic monasticism and thriving local commerce.

During the twelfth century, residents in Edinburgh inhabited tenement houses along two parallel roads, the wide and central High Street (paved at royal expense in the early sixteenth century) and the narrower Cowgate, to the south, as well as a number of smaller lanes branching off from these primary arteries (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 22-3). The street called Canongate continued the line of the High Street, though narrowing its breadth after passing through the imposing Netherbow Port which controlled passage between the two burghs, and sloped down to Holyrood Abbey (founded in 1128 and maintained by an Augustinian monastic order) and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Much smaller than its immediate neighbour and orientated primarily toward service of the abbey and local trade, the Canongate was less densely populated and therefore attracted wealthier residents to its deep burgage plots. After 1285, the boundaries of these burghs were set by the imposition of external walls following wars with England, as well as the River Tumble to the north (later to become the Nor' Loch) and established monastic

institutions bordering the Cowgate as a continuous southern boundary, at Blackfriars, Kirk o' Field and Greyfriars (Robinson 2005: 104-5). For roughly 500 years, settlement was divided between these two competitive burghs, until Edinburgh utilised its financial and political clout to end the Canongate's independence in 1636 (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 22).

The Ancient Royalty

From the 15th century, Edinburgh functioned as the permanent seat of Scotland's governance, and the Court of Session began meeting regularly in the burgh in 1535. The combination of political power and its significance as a centre for trade helped to make Edinburgh a fashionable place to visit, and Scotland's peerage increasingly sought to secure houses there where they could pass at least part of the year. During this period Edinburgh became the primary burgh of Scotland, and competition for burgage plots, particularly those prestigious locations fronting the High Street, encouraged the development of the city's characteristic tenement form, in which a single building is subdivided into multiple residencies arranged amongst three to five storeys.⁴ Edinburgh's almost universal adoption of the tenement structure enabled the city to absorb a rising tide of new residents, as the population grew from roughly 2,000 in 1329 to 10,000 in 1560 and 20,000 in 1635 (Robinson 2005: 105). For around 400 years, the two burghs known collectively as the 'Ancient Royalty' were contained in approximately 130 acres (Robinson 2005: 113).

Although little evidence exists of the city's earliest dwellings, thought to be made of wood, a late fifteenth-century house survives at No. 8 Advocate's Close, its style reflecting the Scottish elites' close relationships to continental Europe, particularly France (Campbell and

⁴ A similar explanation has been suggested for the development of Paris' tradition of flat dwelling. See Sutcliffe 1974, cited in Robinson 2005: 105.

Stewart 2005: 26-7). As Scotland was swept up in the continental tides of the Reformation, later sixteenth and seventeenth-century structures, such as the Parliament House on the High Street (1632-40) and the College of Edinburgh (later Edinburgh University, 1642) reflect a budding Scottish Classicism, which merges traditional Scottish materials such as ashlar stone and traditional masonry techniques with continental European styles to evoke a sense of historicised grandeur (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 29). For domestic structures, harl-dressed rubble emerged as a conveyor of simplicity and personableness, featured in the grander Canongate residences of Huntly House (1671 additions) and Chessel's Court (1745) and interestingly taken up by some post-Reformation churches such as the Canongate Kirk (1688-91) (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 30). These multiple styles and symbols of development suggest the city's ongoing negotiations of its social, political and religious identities and simultaneous investiture in many projects of physical cum social transformation.

Emerging programmes of building reform indicated the growing interest of powerful individuals and institutions in establishing some enduring influence over the shaping of the city. The Dean of Guild Court, an office formerly concerned with matters of trade regulation, developed the first building and planning controls in an effort to regulate tenement construction and enforce some standards of safety. This event marked the first official involvement of Edinburgh's municipal leadership in taking formal responsibility for city planning and development. The numerous fires and occasional collapses of decrepit buildings prompted a rigorous slate of legislation (1621, 1624, 1625) requiring that all rebuilt tenements be made of stone and rebuilt roofs be made of tile or slate and offering tax inducements for property owners of timber-framed structures to rebuild. One of the results of such acts was the creation of a regular, uniform streetscape, in which tenement buildings maintained equal heights, faced the

street along a straight edge and bore a unified aesthetic appearance, the evidence of which is visible today along the West Bow (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 32-3).

Such reforms, which included Edinburgh's earliest documented slum clearances in 1674-5, as well as the acquisition of clean drinking water from the Pentland Hills in 1675, enabled the city to delay the need for extensive expansion for decades (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 32-3). Slum clearances in particular were a notorious municipal action undertaken throughout Europe over the following two centuries; during this period little consideration was made for rehousing of the slum inhabitants, and typically wealthier residents took their places in the subsequently built replacement tenements. As Edinburgh's population continued to grow, however, reaching 30,000 in the 1690s, even these actions proved inadequate, and additional measures were taken by the municipal leadership to reduce overcrowding in the city. Based on the French *place*, new squares were introduced, firstly at Parliament Square off the High Street, then Nicolson Square (1765) and George Square (1766), providing open public areas skirted by tenements and, at George Square, a new English-inspired form of residence, the terraced house (Campbell and Stewart 2005: 34).

The adoption of English styles indicated the changing social and political climate in Edinburgh, where Scottish political sovereignty was strategically subordinated under the 1707 Union of Parliaments. Although popular sentiment in Edinburgh by no means unequivocally supported union with England, and the Scottish Parliament itself seemed divided on the matter until the final days of the 1706-7 parliamentary session, English assurances as to Scotland's retained independence in matters of private law, religion, education and economy and the seductive promise of free trade with England and her colonies eventually secured the votes of the necessary nobles and burghers (Devine 1999: 11-12). An immediate impact of the union was the

departure of many nobles from Edinburgh for residences in London, as well as the encroachment of an economic slump. The flight of the city's gentry affected the Canongate disproportionately, as its houses had been particularly preferred by Scottish nobles seeking proximity to the king's palace (Youngson 2002: 22).

Edinburgh was dramatically altered by its experiences in the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries, as local settlements coalesced into the town of Edinburgh, and the Catholic monastic tradition which had served Holyrood Abbey and Palace departed with the encroachment of the Reformation, when the abbey became a church and the palace was confirmed as a secular royal property. The Canongate experienced key transformations during this period, characterised by its ongoing negotiations with Edinburgh. Initially structured as an independent religious suburb with some engagement in trade, particularly with its larger burgh neighbour, these negotiations subverted its original intent, breaking through as Deleuzian lines of flight, as the Canongate emerged as a primarily residential segment of the central burgh of Scotland, facilitating movement between the castle to the west and the palace to the east.

The development of municipal planning authorities and controls during this period affirms with Foucault (1991) the government's increasing interest in regulating persons and activities indirectly, through the spaces and forms of the city. The popularisation of English-influenced styles like the terraced house reflect nascent alliances in commerce and politics, despite continued French affinities, and by the turn of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh's elites were looking to England and the continent for remedies to growing problems of congestion in the Ancient Royalty. As the following section shows, however, a possible solution pursued via a new series of developments to the town's north produced a surprising New Town and ultimately

created an ‘Old Town’, which would be the object of controversial planning interventions for centuries to come.

A New Town for a new era

Despite the downthrust post-1707 economy, the city’s intellectual and political life initially seemed active as never before. As Alexander ‘Jupiter’ Carlyle wrote of the activists represented in the Revolution Club, which met at the Netherbow during this period, it was a fine time ‘when we could collect David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Fergusson, Lord Elbank, and Drs. Blair and Jardine on an hour’s warning’ (Carlyle 1910: 288; cited in McKean 2005: 44). Such intellectual elites, however, were not satisfied with the crowded and often dirty surroundings of Edinburgh in the mid-late eighteenth century. Edinburgh required renewal, as they saw it, capable of reflecting its grand identity within Europe and its favourable standing in comparison to English cities and of improving its accommodations for the remaining aristocracy with urban properties, or ‘people of rank and of a certain fortune’ (Minto 1752: 31; cited in McKean 2005: 45).

The first proposal for large-scale renewal of Edinburgh, primarily by way of new construction to the north of the Ancient Royalty, was put forth in 1752 by a Revolution Club group whose membership probably included Adam Smith, Adam Fergusson, John and Robert Adam, David Hume and William Robertson, titled ‘Proposals for Undertaking Certain Works in the City of Edinburgh’ (McKean 2005: 45). These proposals suggested that the ideal New Town should be a suburb tailored to the needs of Scotland’s peerage, with families from the professions and business remaining ‘behind’ in the Old Town, and these two distinct parts of the city supporting each other. Although these proposals were never formally authorised by the

municipal authorities, they prompted many families of means in Edinburgh to begin to buy up land to the north of Edinburgh, then Bearford's Parks, and work began on the first necessary step to northern development, the building of North Bridge, in 1763—without any officially ratified plans for the new development itself (McKean 2005: 46). Edinburgh's leaders were thus already committed to northern expansion when they commissioned an architectural competition for a new suburb (defined as such by its lack of accommodations for public space, commercial activity or places of entertainment), which was won by the relatively inexperienced architect James Craig.

Craig's plan for the New Town reflected the mood of the Proposals, in that it explicitly supported Scotland's new identity as 'Northern Britain'. The plan was dedicated to King George, and the shape of Craig's original plan actually sketched the major roads of New Town as forming a Union Jack, but the narrowly triangular buildings required for such design were unbuildable at the time and contrary to the competition's specifications for 'regular squares' (McKean 2005: 46). Craig's distinctively geometrical streets, circuses and gardens emphasised the intellectual and political elite's affiliation with Enlightenment ideals and their identification of Edinburgh as a 'classical' city, but for twenty years after construction began on the New Town, the Old Town continued to remain fashionable, and it was not until the late 1780s that the Old Town's well-to-do population began vacating for the New Town in earnest (McKean 2005: 57).

Much like modernist Brasília (Holston 1989), this planned suburb was not received entirely as intended; most of Edinburgh's aristocracy had already left for London before construction was complete, and so the New Town's inhabitants were, in large part, members of the professions and trades. Adam Smith and David Hume were early New Town transplants,

suggesting that some of Edinburgh's intellectuals did make the intended transfer, although many remained in the Old Town, as evidenced by the fact that the city's Enlightenment clubs continued to meet there, rather than in the New Town (McKean 2005: 43). While early residences in the new development were English terraced houses, in later phases the Scottish tenement form re-emerged as the standard residential structure (Robinson 2005: 109). Construction was accomplished over five individually planned and competitive phases, designed by various architects, reflecting shifting stylistic priorities, and completed only in the late 1820s. For much of this period of development, life in the New Town was somewhat unpredictable, filled with the noise of building work, uneven roads and a persistent yellow haze of dust, and in 1790 a commentator noted that 'purchasers of Princes Street property were facing a large mudhole with dead dogs' (Brown 1997; cited in McKean 2005: 56).

Despite its derivation from Craig's singular plan, New Town's processual development reflects instead a multiplicity of strategies and the often-conflicting desires of prominent individuals. Indeed the construction of the New Town may be represented as a Deleuzian zone of indistinction, a social space productive of unanticipated outcomes rather than the absolute futures represented in the original planning documents (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). The classical regularities of the first two phases of the New Town planning, characterised primarily by the levelling and bridging of the natural environment, were not appreciated by some influential figures in Edinburgh, including the romantically-inclined Sir Walter Scott and Lord Cockburn, both of whom publicly aired their complaints. Later phases of the New Town's planning reflect a transition in style towards Classical Romanticism, embodied in the works of William Playfair, who was responsible for much of Edinburgh's (and also Glasgow's) nineteenth-century 'Grecianising', through the construction of buildings such as the Royal

Scottish Academy and the National Gallery on the Mound and the partially realised replica of the Acropolis on Calton Hill (Devine 1999: 329), as well as the Royal High School and Scott Monument, by Thomas Hamilton. During this period Edinburgh gained the sobriquet, ‘Athens of the North’, due to the combination of intellectual and political activity it housed, as well as the distinctive and widely admired architecture which emerged from the construction of its New Town (McKean 2005: 59). It was an identity self-consciously pursued by the city’s intellectual elites, nowhere more obviously evidenced than in Playfair’s ambitious second Acropolis, and the utilisation of the enduring architectural medium to present this vision of Edinburgh reflected the desire of the city’s intellectual and political elites for this message to echo timelessly throughout the centuries (Youngson 2002).

Although for a time the success of the New Town seemed to threaten the continued existence of the Old Town, the lack of public buildings or spaces for commerce or informal gatherings in the New Town required the Old Town to retain its centrality in legal, administrative and religious matters, and both ‘towns’ co-existed in an uneasy symbiosis (McKean 2005: 57). As the New Town was constructed, many concomitant projects were carried out in the Old Town, including two new bridges to open up the High Street to emerging developments in the south, two new roads, one marching up Castlehill and the other opening up the High Street to the west, as well as the lowering of the Lawnmarket, the creation of Victoria Street and the destruction of much of the West Bow. A fire in 1824 enabled many tenements to be rebuilt as homes for the well-to-do, but by that time, despite the many planning works carried out there, even most of the middle-class families had quit the Old Town (McKean 2005: 57). The large-scale departure from the Old Town tenements of those residents with the means to do so effected

a long-term drain on its resources, and by 1850 the Old Town was considered one of Europe's worst slums (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 131).

The New Town represents a highly-planned urban (or better, suburban) development which was intended by the city's elites to achieve improvements to the common good by bettering the accommodations for its most privileged patrons, ostensibly thus improving the sanitary condition of the Old Town's streets and increasing Edinburgh's prestige through the establishment of an elite residential quarter. The fact that the practices of the city's residents ultimately prevented these original intentions from being realised reflects the multiplicity of plans being pursued, from Adam Smith and William Playfair to the unnamed tradesmen who moved their families across the bridge, as well as the Deleuzian insight that Edinburgh—including both the New and Old Towns—was caught up in many trajectories of becoming, pursued by many actors, with and without intention. While the official plans for the new developments and their intended uses represented the model of the majority, in this case the Deleuzian minority indeed outnumbered those who followed the model, resulting in the reterritorialisation of the New Town and the Old Town by their unexpected inhabitants.

In the absence of local aristocrats, the migration of tradesmen and members of the professions to the New Town transformed some of its residential spaces into makeshift workshops and offices which would endure throughout the nineteenth century. The drain on residents from Edinburgh's Old Town contributed to that sector's transformation into an object of antiquarian fascination, replete with grand old houses, a broad and impressive High Street and many more increasingly shabby tenements. The New Town did bring admiring attention from continental Europe and enabled the continued expansion of the city's population, but it also helped to transform Edinburgh's original settlements into the 'Old Town', simultaneously a relic

of the previous era, the centre of the city's governance and public offices, and residence primarily to impoverished urbanites unable to afford accommodation elsewhere.

In the following section, Edinburgh's subsequent investment in industry is presented as a major productive force which exerted many influences upon the planning of its spaces, including the emergence of a suburbanising housing trend. The impacts of these movements upon the spatialising of class segregation within a traditionally tenement-dwelling population are discussed, while the Canongate experienced further significant transformations in this industrial period through its location within one of the city's major industrial complexes. The boom in industry produced undesired consequences for the city centre, however, and although the city's population continued to expand, both the Old Town and New Town were marginalised by the new foci of investment. The Old Town in particular accelerated its slippage on a trajectory towards physical dereliction, and the emigrations of many Edinburgh residents to new suburban developments represented strategies which, without the specific intent to do so, encouraged a class-patterned human geography (cf. Harvey 1985).

Industry and suburban expansion

The so-called 'Industrial Era' of Edinburgh has been identified by Patrick Geddes, one of the city's planners of enduring influence, as unwittingly productive of many 'disasters' and 'vandalisms' of town planning (Geddes 1915: 349-50). Geddes' own contributions to the planning of Edinburgh sought to address what Geddes considered to be 'the essential and characteristic product' of industrial expansion, 'the Slum', especially in its historic quarters within 'Old Edinburgh' (Geddes 1915: 118). In cataloguing the historical processes which had produced its most dire 'Slum', Geddes found Edinburgh to represent 'one of the most typical of

cities' (1915: 255), yet also possessive of a unique heritage of medieval and Enlightenment-era planning (1915: 209) and a citizenry both well-educated and civically engaged (Geddes 1915: 137). The particular impact of industrial expansion upon Edinburgh's built environment and social order is presented below, reflecting transformations occurring throughout Britain, as well as specifically local responses. This abbreviated historical catalogue of industrial growth in Edinburgh provides the social and physical context for the attempted reforms of the slums it produced, which were spearheaded by Geddes and his contemporaries; these reforms are discussed in the subsequent section.

For Edinburgh's planners, the priorities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focussed upon accommodating the demands of expanding industries and population within a city already widely perceived as overcrowded. As the urban economy and demographics expanded, therefore, so did the built environment, such that forty percent of the structures constituting today's Edinburgh were constructed between 1800 and 1900 (Edwards and Jenkins 2005: 83). Building during this period became finely attuned to commercial requirements and popular preferences, and municipal government sought to sustain the growth while organising it through the instrumental governmentality of residential and industrial zones (cf. Foucault 1991).

While Edinburgh was acquiring an international reputation for its knowledge-based economy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as described in the above section, its industries and commercial activities were also gaining prominence. Edinburgh would always be eclipsed in industry by its lowland neighbour Glasgow, centre of ship-building and iron production for the British empire, remaining popularly known instead for its representation of the professions, the most prominent of which was law. As an English observer commented in 1861, '[T]was pig-iron that did it for Glasgow... 'twas cotton that did it for Liverpool and

Manchester' but 'twas quarrels that did it' for Edinburgh (Heiton 1861: 282; cited in Rodger 2005: 86).

Nevertheless, from 1841-1951, while about one in six Edinburgh men worked in the professions (as a lawyer, accountant, minister, teacher, professor or military officer)—a high percentage in comparison with other cities throughout Scotland, England and Wales—five in six men found work elsewhere. In fact, 50% of the male workforce was employed in industry in Edinburgh during this period (Rodger 2005: 86-7), and about 33% of female employees engaged in industrial work. As Richard Rodger has argued, the primary difference between industry in Edinburgh, versus Glasgow, Sheffield or Birmingham is that no one industry dominated the scene in Edinburgh, and workers were dispersed across a number of industries in the city (Rodger 2005: 87). For the first half of the nineteenth century, these industrial activities were integrated with life in residential areas, with workshops tucked away in the closes and back gardens between tenements, throughout both the Old and New Towns.

At this time, the three primary industries represented in Edinburgh were printing, brewing and distilling (whisky), while the rest of the city's representative industries were comprised of specialist activities rather than large-scale undertakings of mass production (Rodger 2005: 88). It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that industrial activities trended toward fewer and larger-scale agglomerations, such as printing, brewing, distilling, gasworks, glass and rubber manufacture (Rodger 2005: 91). As these firms expanded, in response to technological advances and the acquisition of national, rather than regional, markets, they migrated out of the closes and back lanes of the Old and New Towns to develop greenfield sites ringing the city centre. Through the passing of the Edinburgh Expansion Act of 1856, the city authorities facilitated this movement and encouraged industrial growth by extending the benefits of city amenities and

provisions to the peripheral areas in which these new industrial complexes were being constructed (Rodger 2005: 91-4).

Although the Canongate had once designated the Old Town's easterly end, by the 1860s it was embedded in an industrial conglomeration including a distillery, brewery, foundry and engineworks at Abbeyhill, a printing firm just north of Holyrood Park on Easter Road and eventually a large brewery complex and glassworks at Holyrood, bordering the Canongate to the southeast (Rodger 2005: 91-6). This complex, though large, was second in Edinburgh to the primary industrial zone which consisted of Fountainbridge-Gorgie-Dalry-Slateford to the west of the city centre, both of which persisted through the second World War (Rodger 2005: 98). Together with Holyrood-Abbeyhill-Easter Road, the Fountainbridge mega-complex formed Edinburgh's east-west industrial axis, and it was along these lines that the first housing estates were built for the workers.

These estates, first built at Stockbridge, Abbeyhill and Haymarket in the 1860s and 1870s, relocated industrial workers from the city centre, as well as incoming Highland and Irish migrants, and began to disperse them into purpose-built working-class suburbs around the fringes of the city centre (Rodger 2005: 93). From this dispersal came new working-class organisations such as churches, savings clubs and sport teams, notably the establishment of the (Catholic) Hibernian Football Club at their grounds on Easter Road and the (Protestant) Heart of Midlothian Football Club at Tynecastle in western Edinburgh, encouraging the development of localised social and religious activities clustered around the industrial complexes (Rodger 2005: 98). Each team can trace the respective histories of their development to the Holyrood/Canongate area, in fact; Hibs to Blackfriars Street and Hearts to Dumbiedykes. The cultivation by workers and their families of ongoing projects of subjectivation (Deleuze 1988b)

through these housing complexes thus supported their employers' actualisation of desires for industrial efficiency in production.

The construction of such working-class suburbs was not only efficient for industry, however, but it also served the middle classes' growing desires to express class distinctions through urban geography and building form (Robinson 2005: 121). As working-class estates and developments began to congregate around the industrial zones, middle-class suburban expansion took advantage of undeveloped southerly lands, and the characteristic tenement was adapted to middle-class demands in the Marchmont area, where the primary outward class signifier was the existence of bay windows (Robinson 2005: 120). The construction of these baronial-style, large and luxurious flats depended, as did new working-class housing, upon attaining financing via private capital, but the promise of greater profits in the initial sale of the middle-class buildings ensured that the more upscale projects appealed to established developers with capital to invest, as well as to property owners capable of purchasing an entire building. Working-class housing, on the other hand, was primarily constructed by small building firms as speculative ventures, in anticipation of the purchase of individual flats by various investors, and therefore the construction and maintenance of working-class housing in particular remained extraordinarily sensitive to the local economic climate (McCrone and Elliot 1989: 60-2).⁵ Private developers lost interest in building lower-end housing by about 1904, when the market was felt to be overbuilt (though the city was still widely considered to be overcrowded), and even the more resilient 'upmarket' suburban tenement building coasted to a virtual halt by the 1930s. The great

⁵ The Scottish feuing system, based on feudal relations between lords and vassals, sets an annual fee (feu duty) to be paid in perpetuity to the original property owner by the purchasers of the included flats, whether landlords or owner-occupiers. The pattern established in Edinburgh's working-class developments suggested that, the higher a building's feu duty, the greater the number of flats constructed there, to reduce the burden of feu duty on the flats' owners. Wealthier owners capable of absorbing high feu duties could afford the larger flats, and so flats such as in Marchmont were tailored to their anticipated demands.

period of Edinburgh's tenement-building, during which Edinburgh's housing stock increased by about five times its original number, extended from 1860 to 1900 (Robinson 2005: 122).

Edinburgh's city council continued to express its interest in shaping the city's development, but its members remained conflicted as to the ultimate desirability of government-funded social housing versus private-sector market housing. Negotiating an appropriate municipal planning response to the economic decline which precipitated the falling off of private-sector housing development, during this period of sustained and widespread perceptions of overcrowding in the city centre, especially the Old Town, the city council embarked upon an intensive period of low-cost social housing construction (1919-1924). As an instrument of planning intervention, the municipal provision for social housing proved sensitive to the private markets, and the production of social housing trailed off as the private-sector housing recovered, because many council officials worried that continued construction would drive up the prices for housing materials and labour, thereby harming the private market for house-building (Glendinning 2005: 150).

In view of the council's reluctance to take on the role of competitive developer, the city's planning administration offered subsidies for social housing construction which ultimately enticed private developers to undertake projects of general-needs social housing, producing large, low-rise council estates such as Niddrie Mains, Prestonfield, Saughtonhall, Stenhouse, Whitson and Craightinny (Glendinning 2005: 152). While the contemporaneously emerging private suburban schemes generally relied upon low-density, garden-suburb layouts of two-storey flatted 'villas', the demand for cost efficiency by the developers of council housing estates continued to favour variations of the higher-density tenement (with experimentation in concrete construction, for instance) throughout the 1930s (Glendinning 2005: 153-4). Such parallel

developments threatened to establish a pattern of class-segregated neighbourhoods, respectively indexed by private bungalows and social housing tenements, as Edinburgh's suburban growth continued unabated until World War II. In the 1950s, however, the council's decision to stem the city's suburban sprawl through the designation of a development-free 'green belt' around Edinburgh resulted in the infill of further council houses amongst the partially developed garden suburbs, somewhat softening the spatial segregation by class (Glendinning 2005: 155).

In the resuscitation of the economy and the private development market following World War II, further attempts to construct council housing estates within the confines of the green belt forced architects to work within urban environments already shaped by decades of use, such as Leith Fort, constructed on a site overlooking the docks and large grain silos (Glendinning 2005: 160). The last of such large infill developments was the 200-acre Wester Hailes estate, designed as a 'township' consisting of over 5,000 residences and built between 1967 and 1975. By this time the national economy was sinking, public perception of a glut of social housing had contributed to the waning of local-authority housing construction, and Edinburgh had already embraced the familiar Scottish form of a city centre ringed with social housing estates (Glendinning 2005: 163).

Spatialised class distinction remained a central concern during the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries for many city planners, private developers and residents, who variously invested in the construction of distinct working-class and middle-class suburbs. These suburbs reflected the impact of local industry upon Edinburgh's land usage and its contribution to the economic prosperity which expanded the middle classes, the most ardent pursuers of distinction (cf. Liechty 2002). Despite such pressures, however, spatialised class segregation was never completely realised in Edinburgh. Rather than reflecting any distinct personal agency or

counter-intention, this fact was owed primarily to the structure of the tenement itself and ingrained habits of residential use.

Edinburgh's tradition of a social mix within the tenement—albeit spatially hierarchised within, so that the wealthier residents tended to live on middle floors, with poorer families above and below them—prevailed, helped perhaps by local practices of 'making down' properties and the long-standing mix of housing accommodations in places like the Canongate, where small flats abutted grand urban residences (McCrone and Elliot 1989: 42; Robinson 2005: 122). Although its members proved more generally sensitive to the demands of middle-class housing preferences, the city council's decision to enforce a development-free green belt around the city centre also contributed to the subversion of suburban class-based segregation. This council decision ultimately directed the attention of city planners and private developers from the outskirts of Edinburgh to its centre, which during the industrial era had been transformed into a refuge for poor families and gained a reputation as a notorious slum.

The transition of the Old Town from prosperous urban centre of Scotland to antiquarian relic, and further to impoverished slum, was neither direct nor total, as the above sections have shown. Instead, the various intentions of many planning agents over the course of centuries shaped this urban area through diverse projects and pursuits. These strategies which had cumulatively produced the Old Town's identity as a slum, however, carried with them the inspiration and desires of would-be reformers and urban activists, who would seek to subvert the conditions of poverty and dereliction that defined the Old Town in the perceptions of many observers.

In the nineteenth century, the Old Town was characterised by a burgh engineer as a 'nursery of disease and haunt of vagrants' (Edinburgh City Archives 1887; cited in Dennison

2005: 150), and by Friedrich Engels who observed the ‘foul wretchedness of the poor’ there (Engels 1844: 41; cited in Dennison 2005: 149). The transformation of the Old Town into a widely perceived ‘slum’ represented the underside of Edinburgh’s industrial growth and suburban expansion, as the Old Town suffered from the exodus of skilled workers to working-class estates and of many members of the professions to the garden suburbs. Although some work in the trades continued in the back lanes and gardens amongst the tenements, the majority of residents were poor and shared small flats and informal spaces in the overcrowded city centre. The notoriety of living conditions in the Old Town drew the attention of the city planning administration, as well as newly formed civic organisations and influential individuals like Patrick Geddes, and in the following section their various cooperation and conflicts are presented as pursuits of the ‘reform’ of the Old Town.

Addressing the slums

Despite the increasing shabbiness of the New Town, the most deprived conditions were found in the Old Town, the area in which the city administration would focus its redevelopment efforts. These ‘improvement’ schemes were tempered, however, by the growing recognition, voiced by an activist minority, of the historical worth of the Old Town, or ‘Old Edinburgh’, in which many of the streets, closes and houses of the medieval burghs of Edinburgh and the Canongate still stood. This phase of city planning offers examples of attempts to improve the living conditions of residents in the city centre, as well as the city’s first official acts to recognise and conserve the Old Town’s built heritage, in tandem and occasionally in conflict with the efforts of local civic groups. The figure of Patrick Geddes emerged as a transformative individual who imparted a new logic of city planning to his would-be successors in Edinburgh,

the 'conservative surgery' according to which the city's built heritage and its residential communities represent organising priorities in development schemes. The high costs of such projects prevented Geddes' approach from long-term acceptance by the city council, but his ideas have continued to influence individual architects who implemented and adapted them in subsequent developments. This section describes the shifting of city administrative policies towards its 'slums', from improvement schemes focussed on addressing the sanitary conditions of large areas to piecemeal projects concerned with heritage conservation and inhabitants' rehoming.

For much of the Victorian period, dwellers in these slums were considered by middle-class observers to bear character defects such as sloth, drunkenness and recklessness which accounted for their deplorable situations (Devine 1999: 344). Such views helped to fuel Scottish cities' schemes of extensive slum clearances, carried out in Glasgow in 1866, Edinburgh in 1867 and Dundee in 1871 (Devine 1999: 345). In Edinburgh, the area-based sanitary improvement scheme of 1867, much more comprehensive than previous efforts, was derived from European approaches to 'street improvement' developed in the 1850s (see Saalman 1971 on the Haussmannization of Paris). Consistent with European trends in city planning, the 1867 scheme for Edinburgh was legitimated by emerging research, most notably the 1865 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of Edinburgh*, published by the city's newly appointed Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Henry Littlejohn (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 132; cf. Hall 1988; Ladd 1990; Rabinow 1989). This scheme of extensive redevelopment, which was carried out at various sites in the Old Town over a twenty-year period, required the demolition and rebuilding of large swathes of street frontages, forcing residents out of their homes but giving little attention to their needs for re-housing. Redevelopment prioritised the quality of new building provision but was

largely unconcerned with conserving the area's historic quality (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 131). The streets which were redeveloped and expanded through the improvement scheme of 1867 include Jeffrey, East Market, St. Mary's, Blackfriars and Cranston Streets, all within the Canongate, as well as Guthrie, Lady Lawson and Chambers Streets, the latter of which was utilised as the site for erecting new and imposing buildings to house public and civic institutions (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 132).

In total, more than 3,000 properties across fifty acres were designated for clearance, and in the most overcrowded of these areas, the population density exceeded 600 persons per acre. Only 340 new dwellings were constructed on the cleared sites, replacing only 15% of the demolished homes, and these commanded rates far too high for previous occupants to pay, intended instead for skilled artisans. The scheme, though improving street views and attracting some new residents to the improved upmarket accommodations, did little to address conditions of overcrowding, and it was inevitable that further action would be required in the Old Town (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 131-2).

The emergence of some new reform-minded civic groups, in tandem with the growing influence of research which had been carried out by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree on the cities of London and York helped to change some popular attitudes towards poverty and its causes, moving away from blaming the moral character of the poor for their conditions of deprivation (Devine 1999: 345).⁶ In Edinburgh, the formation of a new group of intellectual activists who called themselves the Social Union was especially influential in the transformation of the council's approach to the provision and improvement of public housing in the city centre. One of the prominent figures in this group was a recently appointed lecturer at Edinburgh University, Patrick Geddes, who had been impressed by efforts carried out by similar groups in

⁶ For further reading on the moral conscience of such civic reformers, see Himmelfarb 1991.

London at Toynbee Hall and Marylebone. The emphasis of the Social Union was on improving the existing housing stock through acquisition of slum properties and their gradual redevelopment, with minimal displacement of residents and avoidance of demolition if at all possible (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 134).

Geddes himself, accompanied as a newlywed by his wife Anna, moved into No. 6 James Court in the Lawnmarket, a Social Union-owned property which had once housed David Hume. His work was undertaken sometimes as an official representative of the Social Union (thereby benefiting from the modest measures of funding the organisation could acquire) and sometimes in his own personal capacity, at great risk to his family's funds. Through daily life in the Old Town and continuous work on the surrounding structures, Geddes developed the widely influential idea of 'conservative surgery' as the best approach to redeveloping the older areas of cities, emphasising respecting the social, cultural and historical fabric of the place. He saw his contribution to 'Old Edinburgh' to consist in 'a work of housing; of repair and renewal; of increase of open spaces and when possible gardening them; of preservation of historic buildings, of establishment of halls of collegiate residence with associated dwellings' (Geddes 1915: 326).

Geddes advocated the retention and reuse of historic or traditional buildings, which he insisted should be 'considered not merely of historic interest and associative charms, but as a vital heritage, capable of influencing and inspiring the townsman as well as the student' (Geddes 1915: 328). Unlike the strict preservationists such as Lord Cockburn, Geddes did not support the retention of long-standing structures at any cost, but rather desired that 'old buildings [be] conserved and yet renewed to vital uses' (Geddes 1915: 262). Whenever the building could not reasonably be upgraded or was preventing further area improvement, he allowed its demolition. Results of his work in the Old Town offer a mix of rehabilitated older buildings and infilled new

construction, including such buildings as Ramsay Garden and University Hall, providing housing for Edinburgh University students and staff, as well as Wardrop's Court and Riddle's Court (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 135). Practically this represented a mix of residents and activities within city blocks, countering prevailing trends towards class-based spatial segregation in the suburbs.

In particular Geddes sought to mitigate against the side-by-side layering of very tall tenements which represented, he quipped, the 'towering heights of national destiny' in Scottish cities (1915: 137-8). He favoured breaking up such building configurations and arranging them around central courts and green areas, reflecting his idealisation of a Garden City model and his conviction that such arrangements should be as available to the working classes as to the wealthy. His experience in planning for such spaces in Edinburgh instructed him that urban residents there took an 'intense public interest' in the planning of city spaces, an observation which would prove relevant throughout the century, and continue to be affirmed by Canongate residents' responses to the planning of the Caltongate development, discussed in the following chapter (Geddes 1915: 292-3).

Geddes' work in the Old Town was viewed throughout Europe as successful and progressive, and it influenced Edinburgh's later policies of urban regeneration, most notably in the 1893 Improvement Scheme. Representing a transition in the local authority's approach to urban planning, this scheme favoured working with civic groups to improve the built environment and conditions of life in the Old Town, rather than exclusively consulting municipal and private sector developers. The Lord Provost himself suggested Geddes and the Social Union as promising partners for the 1893 scheme, and the resulting regeneration work can be seen to represent an example of a 'public-private partnership' in city development. Although the

inclusion of this civic group in city planning represented a step towards public consultation, the notion that residents could possess a right to shape their city spaces was merely inchoate, as the local residents themselves had no voice in this scheme, relying instead upon the representation of their interests by members of the Social Union (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 136-7; cf. Lefebvre 1996).

This improvement scheme resulted in the upgrading of residences at Wardrop's Court, Riddle's Court and Campbell's Close, the latter site located in the Canongate. Although the city regarded the project as successful in terms of its contribution to public health, its lack of funding from the Treasury meant that it acquired very high costs of implementation, from clearance to housebuilding, and it struggled to re-house dislocated residents, ultimately requiring the council itself to take on the provision of new housing—a cost leaders had initially intended to avoid. Upon the completion of the scheme, however, the resulting purpose-built dwellings in the Old Town were incorporated into the local-authority housing stock, and they continue to be popular among council house residents today.

Thanks to his patronage by the Lord Provost and subsequent commission by the council, Geddes was able to produce complex accommodation plans in the Lawnmarket at three sites, widely regarded as remarkable accomplishments, although the costs presented to Geddes' financiers required the accommodations to be rented to skilled artisans rather than their original inhabitants. Ultimately, the financial burden of this project persuaded the council to suspend such ambitious and experimental programmes of area regeneration for the foreseeable future (Rosenburg and Johnson 137-141). Nevertheless, the council's relative openness to planning consultation and participation by members of the public, through the civic organisations, and the example set by Geddes' contributions influenced many subsequent architects and activists to

pursue alternatives to the demolition of Edinburgh's building stock where possible, and to make demands for the representation of local communities in future planning decisions.

Sanitary improvement schemes were once again resumed after World War I, when the cost of private housing construction had grown prohibitively high, but this time it was the historical societies, such as the Old Edinburgh Club (1910) and the Cockburn Association (1875), who lobbied the council to consider the historic worth of buildings considered for demolition within the Old Town, emboldened by the success of the Social Union's sensitive regeneration work and their support by the council. At the same time, Treasury funds were made available for such projects as a temporary measure (owing to the lagging economy); the primary result was the Canongate-Corstorphine scheme of 1927, which was intended to improve six areas of the city, including work on eight sites within the Canongate itself (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 142-3). The appointed City Architect responsible for these projects was Ebenezer MacRae, an individual of great personal influence in Edinburgh, who was committed to the preservation of the Old Town's distinctive character and to the utilisation of Geddes' guiding principle of conservative surgery. Geddes himself had by this time moved to India, to further develop his planning strategies there, but 'conservative surgery' would remain a powerful idea circulating amongst Edinburgh's conservationists for at least another century (cf. Johnson and Rosenberg 2010).

MacRae favoured rebuilding tenements in Edinburgh's distinctive stone, using the rubble from the demolished structure where possible and supplementing with new stone (Rosenburg and Johnson 2005: 144), creating distinctive buildings like the Canongate's eponymous 'MacRae tenements' which would eventually become a site of controversy in the Caltongate proceedings. From the council's perspective, however, such work was time-consuming and unable to provide

the large numbers of new houses then produced by the ongoing construction of suburban estates. After the 1927 scheme, therefore, the conservative surgery approach was shelved by the council again, taken up thenceforth only for relatively small projects, such as the commissioning of an architect known for his commitment to conservation and restoration, Robert Hurd, to design three infill developments in the Canongate, including Chessels Court (1953-1966), as well as Basil Spence, to develop another block of social housing at the Canongate's east end (1965). While the council invested most heavily in the construction of housing estates and private suburbs in the 1950s-1970s, therefore, the legacy of Geddes and the Social Union, maintained by a budding community of individuals concerned with protecting the city's built heritage, ensured that it also continued to fund some smaller projects aimed at restoring and maintaining the built fabric and living conditions of Edinburgh's Old Town.

As a central area of the Old Town slums, the Canongate benefited from the efforts of Geddes, MacRae, Hurd and Spence, which provided sturdy and sanitary, if also modest, living accommodations within larger stone buildings that sought to maintain the distinctive character of Old Town tenement dwellings; many flats in these buildings remain in the local authority housing stock available today. For twenty-first century architecture firms, evidencing a concern for the conservation of the city's built heritage often results in a popular and professional association with Geddes' approach of conservative surgery, an identification often tagged to the firms of Richard Murphy and Malcolm Fraser, for instance. The slippery nature of such labels is elucidated in the following chapter, however, as Fraser is revealed to be a somewhat reluctant contributor to the controversial Caltongate development. Geddes' more radical ideas and practices of social reform, as evidenced in his decision to live in an Old Town 'slum' as well as refurbish the buildings, have been somewhat eclipsed in Edinburgh by his influence upon

heritage conservation and sensitive development.⁷ The emergence of conservation organisations, the popularisation of their causes, and their eventual professionalization are discussed in the following section, which presents the maturation of ‘heritage’ as an organising concept requiring planning consideration in Edinburgh, as well as the development of residents’ claims to shape the spaces and forms of their city (cf. Baxstrom 2008; Lefebvre 1996).

From preservation to conservation

Geddes’ approach to heritage, which entwined the care of the built environment with attentiveness to the needs of local communities, has served as a source of inspiration for many conservation-minded organisations and individuals throughout later years of city development. While early proponents of Edinburgh’s historic built environment such as Lord Cockburn (1779-1854) had pursued the *preservation* of older buildings, these later efforts tended to follow Geddes’ (and later MacRae’s and Hurd’s) *conservation* approaches, which involved some refurbishment and even the transformation of old buildings to new purposes, the view taken by most conservation groups in Edinburgh today (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 194-8; cf. Historic Scotland 2004).

Although conservation organisations do play an active role in Edinburgh’s public planning debates in the early twenty-first century, their influence on planning processes and their outcomes is remarkably weaker than in the days of conservation’s confrontational politics during the 1960s and 1970s. These public clashes over the conservation of the built environment first erupted in response to the very unpopular demolition of George Square in 1965, which produced both a new organisation, the Scottish Georgian Society (today the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, or AHSS), and the growing popular conviction that organised action was required to

⁷ For more on Geddes’ innovative conceptualisations of the city, see Welter 2002.

save historic buildings in the face of comprehensive redevelopment plans put forth by the city council (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 194). While the Scottish Georgian Society became the public voice of these concerns, many neighbourhood street associations were also formed, through which the residents lent their support to the society and argued for ‘sympathetic refurbishment and retention’ of older buildings and areas.

Robert Hurd, an architect who had previously worked in the Canongate, particularly argued for the repopulation of the Old Town through conservative surgery as the superior alternative to the ‘sanitary isolation’ of the housing estates on the city’s margins (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 199). These challenges were remarkable in that, unlike the consultative work of civic-minded intellectuals in the Social Union, they involved the socially diverse self-organisation of residents from the endangered areas as well as concerned observers throughout the city. These efforts represent attempts by urban dwellers to claim their right to the city, in Lefebvre’s sense, and to pursue alternate futures for the city, actualising new trajectories of becoming, in Deleuze’s sense. The timing of these protests coincided with increasing interest in public participation in planning elsewhere, so that building conservation efforts retained an element of popular empowerment throughout the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Sorenson 2009).

Through this intensive period of public confrontations over proposed demolitions, the Scottish Georgian Society gained a consultative role in some important heritage legislation in the 1960s, which proposed to create an official city listing of historical buildings to prevent their future demolition. This legislative framework provided some legal and institutional weight to further contests over proposed demolitions, and it was not only the pre-industrial buildings which benefited from this increase in organised public support. DoCoMoMo Scotland emerged to defend the Modernist buildings of Edinburgh, such as Leith’s ‘terror towers’ and Basil Spence’s

library at the University of Edinburgh's George Square campus (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 196-8).

The conservationist interventions of the 1960s and 1970s emphasised the combined engagement of heritage organisations and the wider public, and they focussed upon preventing not only the loss of the historic built environment via large-scale redevelopment but the loss of the communities inhabiting them as well. The impact of these protests was to halt many large projects in the city centre and to contribute to a development climate which favoured a more piecemeal approach to conservation, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s. While Edinburgh continued to invest in large new developments following the gradual recovery of its economy from the recession of the 1970s, these projects were taken to the margins of the city centre and to the surrounding greenbelt.

From the 1990s through the first decade of the twenty-first century, the construction of an international conference centre and office development at the Exchange in west central Edinburgh, additional office blocks emerging in Tollcross and Fountainbridge, the production of 3.5 million square feet of office space at Edinburgh Park some five miles from the city centre and the opening of the shopping and entertainment centre of Ocean Terminal at Edinburgh's Forth Ports (an impressive but not nearly exhaustive list of new developments) all represented undertakings requiring enormous capital investment. Each of these was jointly financed by private interests such as the Bank of Scotland (Tollcross and Fountainbridge; Ocean Terminal) and the Royal Bank of Scotland (Edinburgh Park), and because they concerned areas outwith the city centre, they were spared much of the public censure from conservation organisations (Kerr 2005).

During this time, public interest in the planning process began to wane, as Edinburgh's historic built fabric seemed less directly threatened by the newly emerging developments, despite their large sizes. Contributing to the distancing of planning from the public, the conservation organisations which had established institutional voices for themselves had formalised procedures for interacting with the council directly, through deputations to the planning committee for instance, which did not require public participation or support. Despite the overall success of conservation organisations like the Cockburn Association and AHSS in saving much of Edinburgh's built environment, therefore, by the 1980s and 1990s the conservation of Edinburgh's physical heritage was a largely professionalised undertaking (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 198-200). From the early conservation projects developed by Geddes and the Social Union in the late nineteenth century, to the widespread popular engagement with conservation issues in the 1960s and 1970s and the professionalisation of heritage consultation by a handful of established local organisations in the 1980s and 1990s, the struggle between proponents of new development and historical conservation has been negotiated amongst Edinburgh's city planners.

These issues have come to a controversial head in the proposal for large-scale redevelopment of the Canongate and Eastern Waverley Valley via the Caltongate masterplan, which is introduced in the following chapter. In the public debate over this development, several issues which have featured prominently in the above narrative, such as councillors' desires for a new development capable of redefining a part of the Old Town and symbolising Edinburgh's international prestige amidst residents' and heritage organisations' concerns for the loss of historic buildings and the degradation of the area's distinctive character, as well as the break-up of a long-term residential community, emerge as prominent themes. These issues are presented within the context of Scotland's parliamentary devolution, the subsequent decision to site the

new Parliament building in the Canongate and a recent trend in development based on area masterplanning.

Conclusions

In Edinburgh, city planning practices and offices emerged out of a governmental concern for sanitation and order, much like other European cities. From early ordinances regulating the form and function of tenements and street front aesthetics, to the massive, multi-part project of suburban development which ultimately produced the city's New Town, the municipal government demonstrated its sensitivity to the place-making demands of local elites in providing accommodations for modern sanitation and luxurious residences to appropriately reflect the prestige of the inhabitants and by extension, Edinburgh itself. Despite adamant assurances to the contrary, however, the New Town effectively siphoned the middle classes from the Old Town, a process which immediately preceded the vacation of the same area by skilled workers, as the emerging industrial estates promised new homes conveniently close to thriving factories. Thus, through the development of the New Town and the expansion of industry in Edinburgh, the area once the social, political and religious centre of the city was transformed into the Old Town. Through these processes, the city centre became characterised primarily by its antiquarian spaces and architecture, as well as the increasing squalor of life for its inhabitants.

The social construction of the Old Town as a 'problem area' represents an unanticipated and gradually materialised outcome of multiple planning projects which were implemented ostensibly to improve living conditions in the city. Comprehensive area improvement schemes were similarly implemented to address the problem of low-quality housing in the Old Town, but this approach made hundreds of poor residents homeless while producing better quality housing

for higher-paying renters. Even under the leadership of Geddes, MacRae and Hurd, addressing the problem of the Old Town ‘slums’ remained a thorny issue for decades, and to some degree the controversy over Caltongate has inherited these and similar concerns.

Edinburgh’s architectural deposits represent diverse projects of place-making and the multiple agendas of planning administrators, architects, local elites and ‘ordinary’ activists. The distinctive social scape Geddes associated with Edinburgh, of an educated populace readily engaged with the planning of urban spaces, and a built environment greatly influenced by the national preference for tenement housing throughout successive trends in city planning, remains relevant to the twenty-first century context of Caltongate despite the noted counter-movements towards the professionalisation of conservation. As the above section has shown, no unified project has organised all these efforts, and developments today represent similarly fractured aims, practices and agencies. Contemporary residents pursue their rights to the city, informed by the successes and failures of previous activists. Geddes’ own work represents a tantalisingly unfinished project, laden with possibilities. The quote from Geddes at the start of this chapter highlights the intriguingly Deleuzian sense of possibility inherent in a city’s historic built fabric, such that Edinburgh’s ‘worst’ might inspire innovative and appreciative engagement. I suggest that informal contributions to city planning, such as the organisation of community residents in the 1960s and 1970s around heritage conservation and renovation, inspired by Geddes’ own work in Edinburgh, represent claims to such possibilities.

These possibilities also represented the futures pursued by the resident protesters in their campaign to challenge Caltongate, a development whose proposal opened up a Deleuzian zone of indistinction capable of producing the conditions for its subversion (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). While the rhetoric and planning documents for Caltongate emphasised the inevitability of

its promised outcomes, consideration of the activities of both the proponents of this development and its detractors suggests the wisdom of maintaining an ethnographic openness to unanticipated possibilities, in affirmation of Biehl and Locke (2010). Even in the face of structures as self-evidently apparent as a masterplan, Canongate residents have discovered the enduring potential for the emergence of lines of flight, creation of new connections and pursuits of alternative futures through their own, integrated and individual, projects of becoming. The following chapters represent the most recent transformations, both imagined and actualised, of the Canongate and Old Town, which bear the imprint of the previous strategies, ambitions and events presented above.

Chapter 2

Introducing the Caltongate masterplan

The contemporary [European] urban territory brings together a multitude of individual, unsynchronized actions within a few very regular physical movements—distinct from each other by their rhythm, duration, and intensity. Each of these regular movements is reproduced in different, distant spaces, and reveals a specific self-organization of social relations and decision-making processes. Thus, behind the aesthetic chaos produced by the apparently incongruous juxtaposition of monads concerned only with their particular trajectory, we witness the appearance of an entirely different phenomenon: the excessive power of a few principles of order.

Stefano Boeri (2001: 371)

Over the past three hundred years, Edinburgh has been continuously transformed by the place-making efforts of innumerable agents. The previous chapter has shown that such efforts should not be represented as the finitely bounded planning projects of local elites but rather as movements within ongoing trajectories of becoming pursued by a broad range of planning participants, the impacts of which have often surprised the planning officials themselves. This chapter approaches Caltongate, a 2005 proposal for large-scale redevelopment of the Canongate and the Eastern Waverley Valley in central Edinburgh, as one such event in which the trajectories and visions of many would-be redevelopers collide. As a particular project of place-making, I show that Caltongate's design has been influenced by national and local politics of devolution, municipal programmes of city promotion, international trends towards area masterplanning and prestige developments, as well as investment in particular development projects such as Holyrood North. Asserting Caltongate's embeddedness within these particular pathways and connections, I reveal its foreshadowing by two local events, the publication of the Council-produced plan for the regeneration of the Eastern Waverley Valley and the inception of a nationally-funded branding campaign for the city of Edinburgh. The fractures of intention and

desire within Caltongate's supportive alliance are engaged as evidence of the uncertainties and ambiguities pervading the planning of this development.

Having discussed the motion of the city and the local movements towards Caltongate, I present the development in visual and rhetorical form as a masterplan, including maps, images, excerpts from its publicity and listings of the intended components. Because the design of this development reflects prevailing masterplanning trends, I compare the Caltongate proposal to similar undertakings throughout the United Kingdom and continental Europe, in order to elucidate relevant connections of professional and political influence which have informed planners' imaginations and desires. The Caltongate masterplan is engaged below as a proposal attentive to the majoritarian model of urban development, by which places are reshaped to attract internationally mobile capital (Harvey 1989; Judd and Fainstein et al. 1999; Kearns and Philo et al. 1993; Zukin 1995), as well as the particular intersection of municipal ambitions for the international profile of Edinburgh with national concerns for the prestige of Scotland, and personal pursuits of subjectivation by some key individuals. Caltongate is shown to be a potential participant in the continuous reshaping of Edinburgh, mediating international, national and local influences through a planning strategy which seeks to uphold and extend the prestige of its powerful supportive alliance. As a planning project, Caltongate is firstly concerned with the desire-laden pursuit of a particular vision of the future of Edinburgh, and this vision, inclusive of its internal tensions and uncertainties, is engaged throughout the sections below.

Devolution and development

The immediate context of Caltongate's proposal, both geographic and historical, has been identified by proponents and detractors as the decision of the Scottish Executive to construct a

new Parliament building at the eastern end of the Royal Mile. An optimistic climate of popular national pride followed a 1997 popular referendum vote overwhelmingly in favour of parliamentary devolution, seemingly addressing previous accusations of Scottish citizens' lack of confidence in the possibility of home rule (cf. McCrone 1992, 2000; Nairn 1977; Smout 1994). In addition to its enduring status as capital city of Scotland, Edinburgh's role as the urban centre of the home rule movement, as well as its built environment's manifestation of many historic symbols of Scottish liberal nationalism, helped to establish that city as the appropriate seat for Scotland's executive leadership (Hearn 2000; 2003). While opinion among municipal leaders favoured proximity to the Old Royal High School on Calton Hill (a William Playfair building), which had been anticipated as the site of the new Assembly in the unsuccessful 1979 campaign for home rule, the leadership of then-Secretary of State and soon-to-be First Minister of Scotland Donald Dewar ensured that the Parliament would be brought to the foot of the Royal Mile, on the site of the former Holyrood industrial complex (Anderson 2010).

By the time that the construction of the new Parliament was under consideration, trends in Edinburgh's city development had been favouring the creation of large-scale area masterplans for nearly two decades. Following the imposition of fiscal austerity by consecutive Conservative governments under Margaret Thatcher, in the 1980s Edinburgh's district council (the precedent to the current city council) had been forced to cultivate partnerships with the private sector, resulting in a commercial building boom in which the council used its role as landowner to stimulate development (Kerr 2005: 206). Such development ventures increasingly favoured the area-specific masterplan, which sought to redevelop large areas of multiple city blocks, both within and outwith the city centre. Examples of such developments include the

financial district at the Exchange, Edinburgh Park and the Leith waterfront, introduced in the previous chapter.

One development in particular introduced some of the elements which would attract the attention of local leaders to the eastern end of the Royal Mile and encourage their perception of the need for council initiative in the area's redevelopment. A combination of area masterplanning practices and the enduring (if patchy) legacy of Geddes' ideals for conservative surgery and refurbishment within the Old Town influenced local architects to design a masterplan for a five-acre mixed-use development at a site called Holyrood North, spread between the Holyrood Brewery site to the southeast of the street named Canongate and some of the closes abutting the road from the south, requiring a mix of refurbishment and new construction. Although it proposed to erect some large new-build commercial structures such as the glass-faced Tun, by Allan Murray Architects, much of the development initially focussed on the refurbishment and construction of tenement housing and the provision of public spaces such as the Scottish Poetry Library and Royal Fine Arts Commission, completed by firms noted in Edinburgh for their sensitivity to historic building conservation, Malcolm Fraser Architects and Richard Murphy Architects, respectively. Development of the site, which worked around the historically listed Class A seventeenth-century tenements of Chessels Court, was awarded in 1993, and demolition of the remaining brewery buildings commenced shortly thereafter.

The contributors to Holyrood North, consisting mainly of a variety of local architecture firms, could not have anticipated how the trajectory of their own development would soon intersect with that of the newest and most prominent building-to-be in Edinburgh. Holyrood North was a fairly large but uncontroversial site, due to the siting of much of the development on the former brewery grounds, but the decision to position the Parliament in the Holyrood area at

the foot of the Canongate immediately sparked wider interest throughout Edinburgh's commercial community, as Holyrood North gained a reputation as a prime location for business. *The Scotsman* newspaper moved their offices to this site, the development of which subsequently received a new injection of funds. As commercial agents like the newspaper helped to reconfigure the modest ambitions guiding this development, they also directed investment to the south of the Canongate, thereby limiting the ability of the new Parliament compound to enhance the Eastern Waverley Valley which abuts the Canongate to the north, as the new investors in Holyrood North helped to focus redevelopment to the southeast of the Canongate instead. The unexpected collision of the executive government's plans for the Parliament building and the local architects' masterplan of Holyrood North resulted in the city leadership's anticipations for the future development of the area being indefinitely deferred. The confluence of these two development trajectories, pursued as unknowingly conflicting futures by planning participants, simultaneously attracted attention to the eastern part of Edinburgh's city centre, while contributing to the isolation of the Eastern Waverley Valley from the benefits of accompanying investment.

City council involvement

Edinburgh's city council leadership pursued formative roles in the imagination and transformation of the city's east end, through the cultivation of strategies which enabled the council to cast a vision for development despite their reluctance to contribute directly (and financially) to the design of the Caltongate masterplan. In this section the council's involvement in recruiting development participants for the Canongate and Eastern Waverley Valley area is framed within a larger context of international trends in city marketing strategies, their

localisation of which procured a particular alliance of support for the as-yet hypothetical new development. The initiative of Labour Council Leader Donald Anderson (1999-2007) in particular united commercial and municipal resources in designing a larger city-wide marketing or ‘branding’ strategy, the discourse of which resonates clearly with that of the marketing materials and publicity subsequently produced for the Caltongate masterplan, as presented in the following section. Anderson contributed pivotally to the crafting of the development strategy which ultimately produced the proposal for Caltongate, viewed as a major achievement by Edinburgh’s Labour leadership.

Within a newly devolved Scotland as the national leadership sought to demonstrate its strength through sustained economic vitality and expansionist agendas that highlighted Scotland’s participation in Europe, Edinburgh’s Labour-led municipal leadership sought to direct the international spotlight which would shine on the nation’s new and iconic Parliament building to reflect positively upon the city of Edinburgh. In such visions, Edinburgh should become the modern capital of the modern nation of Scotland, and thus the city’s spaces and forms should not only represent such an identity symbolically but also be utilised as instruments to transform this vision into reality (cf. Kusno 2000). Not only would this strategy require extensive redevelopment of the area surrounding the Parliament building, but it would rely upon commercially derived rhetorics of marketing to construct a cohesive ‘image’ around which to rally the unruly places of the city (cf. McDonogh 1999). This place-making rhetoric would emphasise the unity of Edinburgh’s ‘east end’ as a single area, thus obfuscating historical place identities such as the Canongate, Abbeyhill and Croft-an-Righ.

The council, under the leadership of Anderson, determined that given the successful establishment of the new financial district (the Exchange) in Edinburgh’s west end, the city

centre was becoming imbalanced. In particular, the Eastern Waverley Valley was identified as a single ‘problem area’, inclusive of several named neighbourhoods such as those listed above, and ripe for entrepreneurial development (Anderson 2010). The failure of Holyrood North and the ongoing construction of the new Parliament building to attract the necessary private interests to this area prompted the council to act as development entrepreneurs and take the initiative in attracting private developers to the area (cf. Harvey 1989). In 1999 the council commissioned research on possibilities and preferences for development in the area, and the results were published as the Waverley Valley Redevelopment Strategy, which was intended by the council to serve as informal planning guidance for a hoped-for private developer. Secondly, and perhaps more daringly, they determined to establish a new City Council Headquarters building within this ‘problem area’, in the neighbourhood known as the Canongate. This move in particular, which was granted council planning approval in 2002, was undertaken, according to Anderson, with the ‘express purpose of trying to regenerate the east end of Edinburgh, that [Canongate/Waverley Valley] area in particular’ (Anderson 2010).

The urban regeneration project pursued by Anderson was not intended merely to improve the area for the use of current residents, as many of the previous development schemes in the Canongate, influenced by Geddes’ work, had undertaken to do in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As I show below, the transformations desired of Edinburgh’s ‘east end’ by Anderson and his council supporters should be understood within an international context of interurban competition, as perceived by municipal leaders throughout Europe and North America. This framework of interurban competition serves to structure and inform city planning initiatives, reproducing the dominant regimes within physical and social spaces. It represents a particular way of knowing, indebted to the techniques and technicalities of urban planning, which

undergirds municipal planning support of large-scale development schemes such as Caltongate (cf. Foucault 1991).

The competitive marketing of cities has been embraced by municipal leadership coalitions as a central component of political cum economic policies throughout Europe since the 1990s (Bianchini and Parkinson et al 1993; Kearns and Philo et al 1993; Loftman and Middleton 2001; Loftman and Nevin 1994, 1995, 1996). Although competition between cities has long influenced city planning, serving for instance as a central argument promoting the development of Edinburgh's New Town in the 18th century (Youngson 2002), contemporary trends in competitive city marketing have been generally recognised to produced distinctive planning practices (Lever and Turok 1999). These municipal development strategies reflect the influence of private-sector ambitions for corporate growth; they construe urban residents as consumers and the city leadership as those specialists with the tools to unlock residents' desires and potential to consume, the realisation of which is increasingly central to city economic plans. Despite the apparent structuring effect of such strategies, however, residents themselves often resist this determination of their relationships with the city, and the following chapter engages some of the alternative trajectories pursued by residents in the Canongate.

The Edinburgh council leadership's interest in securing a proposal for a large-scale upmarket development for the east end of the city centre was informed by a prevailing trend in the marketing of Western European and especially British cities. According to this strategy, cities invest in the construction of a prestige development to enhance or reshape a city's image, secure tourists' or visitors' spending, retain local businesses, attract new business investment (especially that of service sector businesses) and diversify the city's economic base (Bianchini 1993a: 2; Loftman and Nevin 2003: 76). In the 1980s and 1990s, development projects crowned

by a flagship prestige development, especially ‘cultural’ prestige developments like sports stadia, concert halls and leisure complexes, became key components of urban regeneration strategies throughout Western Europe (Bianchini and Parkinson et al 1993; Loftman and Nevin 2003: 76). Such prestige developments have occupied key roles in the marketing plans of cities, seeking to marry commerce and culture in particularly consumable forms, and since the 1980s this strategy has garnered an unprecedented level of public and private sector support (Loftman and Nevin 2003: 77).

The upmarket regeneration that Anderson pursued through the instrumentality of a flagship development for Edinburgh relied upon the cultivation of close relationships with the city’s business and tourism industries. In contrast to the fraught relationships between previous city councils and the Chamber of Commerce, which Anderson characterised as primarily concerned with wrangling over the issue of setting business tax rates, he sought to create allies in the business community. Having served in the Economic Development executive committee before being selected as Council Leader, Anderson had become convinced that the city leadership should cooperate with the demands of local businesses and pursue Edinburgh’s future through attentiveness to the local economy.

In the council’s consultation of the business and tourism industries for input related to new development needs, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, Visit Scotland and the Edinburgh Convention Bureau worked closely with council leadership. These organisations suggested that business tourism in particular should occupy an important position in Edinburgh’s economic strategy. The ability of this upmarket industry to provide year-round profits, in contrast to the traditionally seasonal nature of the city’s tourism, would fill out the leaner winter months of the urban economy, and many of the provisions required to attract such tourists would

also attract upmarket residents to the city. The provisions suggested as warranting municipal investment were a new conference centre, a five-star hotel, luxury housing, commodious office spaces, facilities for upmarket consumption and spaces for arts-related activities.

As the ECB demonstrated, Edinburgh was ‘having trouble’ housing more than one ‘rather large’ conference at a time. Such visitors require a five-star hotel, of which Edinburgh was noted to have a paucity, and in order to attract the most prestigious hotel brands, such as the French Sofitel corporation, a Royal Mile address was deemed necessary. As a representative from the Edinburgh Conference Bureau noted in a deposition given to the Management Development Committee of the council in 2008, the provisions for a new hotel and conference centre should respect the demands of the business tourists, as it was noted, ‘[t]hese people are used to the best all around the world’. Rather than the ‘traditional’ Scottish trinkets of tartanry, the primary attractions for business tourists were anticipated as, firstly, the ‘quality of the development, particularly the hotel’, and secondarily, Edinburgh’s ‘heritage’, ‘culture’, ‘walkability’ and ‘centres of excellence’ (Tooley 2008).

I suggest that the business tourists and similar ‘upmarket’ visitors and residents described above represent the Deleuzian majority for whom prestige developments are designed (cf. Deleuze 1997: 173). As such, they serve as the model for urban consumers, and city leaderships’ identification of and attentiveness to their preferences are treated as development necessities within an international game of interurban competition. Although these consumers of the city are outnumbered by other visitors and residents, their collective ability to contribute financially to the competitive advantage of a city such as Edinburgh has granted them majority status in the entrepreneurial development plans of many municipal officials and business representatives. The following discussion of Edinburgh’s Branding Strategy highlights the meaningful context of

interurban competition and renders explicit the centrality of the majoritarian model of the urban consumer to derivative plans for city planning and development.

A branding strategy

Anticipations of business tourism in particular, derived from a close working relationship with Edinburgh's leaders in business and tourism, shaped the council's perceptions of the city's development-related needs and identified the Deleuzian majority to whom development should be primarily accountable. As Council Leader, Anderson determined to translate this analysis of the city's needs into a publicly persuasive discourse about Edinburgh, its relationship to other cities and the particular imperatives driving its development projects. As a means of bringing hoped-for futures into fruition in the present, Anderson sought to create a unifying and recognisable image of the city, a city brand to both represent and inform Edinburgh. Within the national context of devolution and local excitement about Edinburgh's newly regained role as governmental centre, in 2004 Anderson sought and secured funding (£950,000) from the Scottish Executive to develop Edinburgh's own distinct brand which could be applied to a wide range of products and services in the city and could foster a united effort on the part of tourism, business, education and public sectors to promote the city region of Edinburgh as a 'destination' (Anderson 2010). The concept of a city brand reflected the perception by Anderson and other municipal and national leaders that Edinburgh is engaged in interurban competition with other cities, in particular for the profitable prizes of tourism and internationally mobile commerce. The following excerpt from the website of Edinburgh's Branding Strategy makes explicit reference to such competition and assumes the desirability of its effects:

Building on the region's reputation for education, heritage, culture and business, the new brand will ensure Edinburgh is well placed to *compete with other successful cities* such as Hong Kong, Barcelona and Copenhagen. (Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance 2004a; emphasis mine)

Edinburgh was represented in the Branding Strategy publicity as both already situated for success in interurban competition and currently undertaking positive and dynamic developments which are transforming it into an even more desirable place, according to the criteria of the internationally mobile visitors, corporations and residents it hopes to attract. These desired characteristics of a successfully competitive city/Edinburgh are described below:

- An ideal location for companies to grow and prosper
- A place which attracts a talented and skilled workforce to meet the needs of its key sectors, including financial services, biotechnology, higher education, and research
- An area with a high quality of life for its residents
- A vibrant, high quality tourist destination
- A confident and contemporary city with a remarkable history and architectural heritage (Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance 2004a)

The above points made explicit the city's focus on commerce, as noted in reference to the flourishing of 'companies' and the attractiveness of the city for a 'workforce', including 'financial services', research, education and technology—the latter three which were believed to complement business growth. Residents and tourists follow in significance, with an emphasis on 'high quality' provisions—a characteristic which Caltongate's developer would soon translate into 'upmarket' demands for products and service. Finally, 'history and architectural heritage' were mentioned as properties of the city with apparently self-evident value, although their roles in relation to the competitive priorities of commerce, habitation and tourism were ambiguous and undefined.

The first step taken by the Branding Strategy Group, after identifying Edinburgh's virtues above, was the development of a city 'logo' which, as Edinburgh's 'brand', could evoke the city

imagined above. To this end a consultancy firm was employed, in the manner of a public/private partnership, to carry out market research and construct slogan and image options for the Branding Strategy Group to consider (Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance 2004b). The public sector members of this partnership included the City of Edinburgh Council, Edinburgh and Lothians Tourist Board and Scottish Enterprise East, while the private sector contributors were summarised as ‘marketing professionals from Edinburgh’s key sectors’ (Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance 2004a). Following a period of consultation, including public exhibitions, the official brand was announced on 25 May 2005. The logo itself accomplished a clever double-meaning, one half of which alludes to the city’s role as centre of commerce. The official brand of the city today (below) is ‘Edinburgh: Inspiring Capital’, from which three curving ‘lines of influence’ spring.⁸



Since 2005, the brand’s image may be seen on taxis, in the windows of tourist shops and hotels, throughout the airport and major roadways, as well as literature promoting local events. By registering on the official website, www.edinburghbrand.com, individuals and organisations may download any of a campaign-approved host of photographs taken in Edinburgh, images of the logo itself and various other ‘brand materials’ for use in promoting Edinburgh as a place to

⁸ Edinburgh is not alone among Scottish cities in its founding of city marketing campaigns. In 2005, Glasgow City Council funded the creation of the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, which subsequently produced the city slogan and marketing campaign, ‘Glasgow: Scotland with Style’. As of 2010, no other Scottish city has organised a marketing campaign (See Glasgow 2005).

‘visit, invest, live and study’. City-wide strategies for the branding of Edinburgh continue to evolve today, led by alliances between representatives from public and private sectors. For instance, in 2009 the Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance was formed to further streamline efforts at ‘destination promotion’, with the intention that this ‘committed team of dedicated professionals’, which includes businessmen and tourism leaders, professors of international business, and a City of Edinburgh councillor, may ‘provid[e Edinburgh with] the critical tools to stand out in a highly competitive market place *with a focus on the customer at its heart*’ (emphasis mine).

This construal of residents and visitors as customers of the entrepreneurial city has been central to the regeneration efforts pursued by Edinburgh’s city council in the years following devolution. Translating temporary and long-term inhabitants into the singular category of ‘customers’ has supported the identification of a majority group, whose consumption patterns are regarded by Edinburgh’s municipal leadership and business and tourism industries as a competitive resource for the city. The characteristics and preferences attributed to this majority represent a standardised measure which has informed the imagination of a development model that, as expressed in the city slogan itself, emphasises Edinburgh’s ‘capital’ resources and potentialities. It is important to consider the city’s branding strategy intentions, interpretations and supporters as the immediate context of the Caltongate proposal; the alliance of city council, tourist board and commerce representatives assembled for the branding strategy represent the same organisations which would in a short time support the Caltongate development. Anderson’s leadership in both campaigns further illustrates the connection between the

majoritarian perspectives which have informed both the creation of Edinburgh's brand and the city centre's most expansive development proposal since the eighteenth century.⁹

In a personal interview (2010), Anderson confirmed that he had intended the redevelopment of the city centre's east end to produce a 'flagship' development, bearing forth the aspirations which had driven the branding campaign and symbolising Edinburgh's arrival on an international stage. Anderson's leadership was limited however by the prevailing planning practice in Edinburgh, which relied upon private developers to take responsibility for the design and components of such projects, including the hiring of architects and the drafting of the masterplan. The final plans for the new development, while influenced by the council's public discourse about the city's needs, published planning guidance like the Waverley Valley Redevelopment Strategy and ongoing projects like the Branding Strategy, were ultimately produced under the guidance of a development firm, by developer-chosen architects, with little direct input from the city council. As the above section shows, however, the council's influence upon the planning of Caltongate, though indirect, powerfully directed prevailing interpretations of the development needs and local, national and international contexts to which any future proposal would be responsible. The following section presents the developer's response to these conditions and contributions to the creation of Caltongate, through commercial partnership with two architectural firms, Allan Murray Architects and Malcolm Fraser Architects, as well as Halifax Bank of Scotland (HBOS).

⁹ Anderson's leadership in the branding strategy was accomplished through a formal position in the planning group. His leadership in advocating the Caltongate proposal instead relied largely upon his personal and political influence, as then-leader of the council, who publicly supported the proposal and was thereby prevented from actually casting a vote in its favour, a (juxta)position with which he was comfortable (personal communication, 16 November 2010).

Producing the masterplan

In the council's cultivation of an entrepreneurial alliance to reshape Edinburgh's city centre, partnerships with commercially successful agents were firstly pursued, rather than consultation with city residents or other non-commercial development organisations. Even given the shared commercial interests of such actors, this section shows that planning negotiations were complicated by individuals' and firms' pursuits of various projects of becoming, revealing the tensions and uncertainties straining this regime of planning. The carefully structured forms and spaces displayed in the Caltongate masterplan below belie the movements and minor projects of resistance propagated amongst its proponents.

Rewarding the council's initiative in relocating their headquarters to the Canongate, an executive from the London-based development firm Mountgrange Plc. soon approached them with a proposal to generate a masterplan for development of the area, which would include offices, a hotel, houses and retail spaces. According to Anderson, the council leadership felt that this opportunity could not be denied, and they eagerly gave Mountgrange a green light to proceed. While the first step in that regeneration strategy, construction on the Council Headquarters, commenced on New Street in 2004, Mountgrange busied themselves with the contracting of architects. Several plans for the area were considered, and ultimately the commercially favoured firm of Allan Murray was awarded the project, while a firm more noted for work with 'heritage' areas, Malcolm Fraser's, was offered a corner of the development site on Jeffrey Street (Fraser 2010). Together, the plans drawn up by these two architecture firms, and directed by Mountgrange, would constitute the masterplan presented to the public, which included the various planning proposals for subdivided portions of the site, the respective merit

of each to be determined by the Development Management Committee of the City of Edinburgh Council.

Having received the above-described indications of the council's perception of what was needed in the redevelopment of the Eastern Waverley Valley and Canongate, the developer sought to provision for these needs in a manner that was financially profitable. The selection of architects reflected this interest, as Allan Murray had earned a reputation for his work for developers on large masterplanned projects in Edinburgh, such as Edinburgh Park (1999-2002) and Quatermile (2001- 2009) and ongoing projects at Fountainbridge (2004-present) and the St. James Centre (2006-present), among many others. By contrast Malcolm Fraser, whose firm is based in the Old Town, has focussed much of his work on efforts at regeneration and historical contextualisation (Jenkins and Holder 2005: 194) at the Scottish Poetry Library (1999), Scottish Storytelling Centre (2006) and Holyrood Abbey Church (2006-7), among others, and is currently involved in working with the local Canongate residents to refurbish the Canongate Venture, a building which was intended in the Caltongate masterplan for demolition. Although neither architect limits his practice to Edinburgh, the majority of each firm's large projects have been undertaken within this city.

Over a cup of coffee and a bacon roll one morning in November 2010, at a café across the road from Edinburgh University's George Square campus, Fraser mused with characteristic frankness over Murray's popularity in Edinburgh among developers:

Edinburgh's a small place. Allan and I have sat next to each other, working for other people. Allan—on one level you can't argue with success, and Allan has worked out how to do it. Unfortunately we have a culture that asks not for architecture but for boxes to be ticked. And Allan knows how to do that. He knows how to tick the urbanist box, just enough—to tick them just enough—tradition, just enough; modernity, just enough; consultation, just enough; urbanism, just enough; sustainability, where you can nail a bit of wood to the side of your windows and that means the building's sustainable—and all that. So Allan knows how to do that. And my problem is, you get a world where, as I'm about to talk about [in a lecture at the university], you've ticked all these boxes, but the one thing that's missing is that bit that ties it all together. So I have a problem with Allan's great success in this promotion here [Caltongate], because I think his work is, eh—I think it's dreadful! It's crap!

Fraser considered Murray's practice to work too closely in service of developers, therefore valuing final profits at the expense of investment in the quality of architectural design. He critiqued the prevailing relationship structure between developers and the architects they hire, in which the developers maintain a position of leadership and architects are dependent upon satisfying the demands of the developer in order to be allowed to contribute to such large projects as Caltongate. The size and importance of the redevelopment of Edinburgh's east end required an architect who would prioritise the planning provisions for upmarket business tourists and could meet the developer's demands for optimum profit, but the historical significance of the Old Town made it important for the developer to be seen publicly as sensitive to the area's architectural heritage in the midst of the new development. The uneasy teaming of Murray's and Fraser's firms was designed to accomplish this feat, and Fraser ultimately embraced his smaller role, explaining:

I think quite probably we [Malcolm Fraser Architects] were always on a highway to nothing. Because we weren't going to drop buildings, and I wouldn't have taken the school [Canongate Venture] down. Our submission was based around retaining that, so I think we would never have got anywhere. But we were then offered [the Jeffrey Street site] as a consolation prize, maybe because they liked us or maybe partly because they wanted someone inside who was maybe more concerned about the heritage of Edinburgh... I took the view early on that, barring economic collapse, this site was going to be developed. And I could either stand at the side and wail and never build anything, or I could build my part of it, which I knew I could do in a lovely way.

Through the selection of Allan Murray as Caltongate's primary architect, Mountgrange secured a development partner committed to their vision for the Eastern Waverley Valley and Canongate, whose work was believed to be reasonably certain of acceptance by the city council, in view of Murray's already numerous large-scale undertakings in Edinburgh. Fraser's acceptance of the smaller role offered to his firm brought a renowned 'heritage architect' into the project, to produce a 'signature building' for commerce, contributing to the area's diversity of uses and attempting to correct the lop-sided awkwardness of Jeffrey Street.¹⁰ Mountgrange's leadership in this development was dependent, however, upon the reception of the masterplan by its financiers cum investors, Halifax Bank of Scotland (HBOS).

The financing for Mountgrange's project was provided entirely by HBOS, in a partnership structure common in Edinburgh at the time, but which would ultimately prove the undoing of Caltongate. Although a quiet participant in the development, dealing only with Mountgrange, HBOS provided the financial capital to underwrite Caltongate. Not only did the bank lend the necessary funds to the developer, however; in Edinburgh banks like HBOS had begun to take on the role of investors in the development itself. HBOS itself commonly acted as a development partner through its funding of Kilmarton, a company created largely to expand the bank's capacity for commercial development partnership. In the preparations for Caltongate, therefore, Mountgrange was required not only to secure large loans, but also to answer to the bank for its investment decisions in this particular proposal and its implementation.

This practice of banks acting as commercial participants in development had already created some problems in Edinburgh related to the poor quality of construction at such sites. As

¹⁰ Jeffrey Street was a Victorian addition to the Canongate, connecting the elevated High Street to the lower level of the Waverley Valley. The southern side of Jeffrey Street consists primarily of decorative stone arches and the modernist bulk of the Jury's Inn, while the northern side houses only a few flats and shops, the majority of this side of the street being open and affording views across the Waverley Valley to Calton Hill.

Council Leader, Anderson had been involved in negotiating with HBOS over the possibility of salvaging a project which the council had bought and the bank had stewarded, the Ratho Climbing Centre on the west side of Edinburgh. His investigation of the site produced concerns as to the bank's development management, and he wondered at the time whether this issue might be widespread. He admitted that he suspected it was (Anderson 2010).

The developer-led masterplanning process, which produced a plan designed by Murray and Fraser, financed and approved by HBOS and publicly applauded by Labour council leadership like Anderson, evidenced some ambivalence among its participating partners, as suggested by Fraser's (2010) comments above. Despite the denials of my interview requests from Mountgrange, Allan Murray Architects and HBOS to discuss the topic of Caltongate, two candid interviews with Anderson and Fraser in 2010, when Caltongate was believed to be an abandoned proposal, illuminated some tensions between these supporters of the development proposal, behind a public front of unity. As described above, the perspectives of these two individuals on the development vary widely; for Anderson Caltongate represented the culmination of many years of strategic work to attract a large redevelopment proposal to Edinburgh's east end, while Fraser was approached by the developer to contribute to the site and accepted their small offer, despite serious reservations as to the design and implementation of the masterplan, so that he could contribute to the development in a positive (though resignedly minor) way. Their respective observations as to the process of creating the Caltongate proposal therefore offer valuable insights along differing trajectories within Caltongate's supportive alliance.

As described above, Fraser disagreed with Murray's developer-orientated objectives in creating the masterplan, and particularly with the plan's requirement for the demolition of a

historically listed Class C building, the Canongate Venture. Tailoring the masterplan too closely to the developer's ultimate objectives of lowering building costs and maximising profits sacrificed the leadership of the architects, Fraser felt, and he ascribed the major weaknesses of the masterplan to the developer-led planning process which produced it. This critique of the profit-focussed developer, however, was not limited to a quasi-dissident like Fraser; when discussing the masterplan's provision for social housing, Anderson indicated that council-imposed restraints were necessary to curb the developer's pursuit of profit.

In consideration of the masterplan's provision for the city-mandated minimum requirement for 25% social housing in any new development, Anderson pointed out that, given their own choice, Mountgrange and indeed any developer would have pursued unabated profit and not allocated any houses to the local authority. Mountgrange, as the private-sector developer responsible for the Caltongate masterplan, was thus seen by both Anderson and Fraser as entirely profit-orientated, at the expense of other development concerns. While Anderson believed that the leadership by such private sector firms was a desirable aspect of the planning process, particularly given the lack of funding and personnel in the city council to take such a project forward, Fraser treated the arrangement as an unhappy necessity with which he must comply, in order to contribute anything to such large and important developments.

Anderson, who had participated in the preparations for a new development over many years, expressed his discomfort with the investment of banks such as a HBOS in development projects like Caltongate, as described above. Not only did these banks often manage their investments poorly, as with the Ratho Climbing Centre, but their extensive interests in such decisions swayed the climate of development in Edinburgh, especially following the collapse of financial services in the city in 2008-9. Reflecting on such a transformation from the vantage

point of autumn 2010, Anderson lamented the reluctance of these chastened banks to fund large upmarket developments and their (in his view) short-sighted willingness to finance in their stead smaller, mid-to economy-sized projects such as the provisions for a city-centre Premier Inn.

Nevertheless, Anderson's commitment to partnership with the private sector remains strong, and his interest in large-scale development projects reflects his sustained conviction that such attractions bring jobs, investment and tourism to Edinburgh. His interests in such developments inform a pragmatic suspicion of 'temperamental artist' types like Fraser and incline him towards corporate collaborations and sympathy for private-sector firms like Mountgrange, whose attentiveness to profit he views as only natural, not regrettable.¹¹ In fact, after his bid to election in the Scottish Parliament failed in 2007, Anderson was hired as the Scottish Director of the public relations firm which had been working with Mountgrange on the Caltongate proposal, a position he retains today, working in the firm's multi-storey offices on the impressive George Street promenade in New Town.¹²

The close relationship between council leadership under Anderson and leaders in the city's business and tourism industries produced planning objectives which emphasised upmarket provisions for business tourists, whom I have suggested represent a significant component of the majority upon whose preferences development masterplans like Caltongate have been modelled. In the section below, the Caltongate masterplan is introduced, and the components of this

¹¹ As our interview wound up and we began speaking more casually, Anderson asked me whether Fraser had 'stormed out' of his interview with me, as Anderson chuckled that he had done in previous planning meetings, with an eye roll conveying his own exasperated patience.

¹² Anderson was not alone among the Labour leadership in his relationship with Mountgrange, however; in 2007, during the thick of the public debate over Caltongate, the Labour Party, then in control of Edinburgh's city council and expecting to remain so, received a public campaign donation of £4,000 from Mountgrange, the acceptance of which was regarded with incredulity by councillors of the competing parties and arguably contributed to the Labour Party's fall from power in the council elections (Ferguson 2008a). Another Labour luminary, then head of Edinburgh's Planning Committee Trevor Davies, infamously made a rude gesture toward heckling protesters as he entered a champagne reception hosted by Mountgrange in December 2006, and he was subsequently denied re-election in 2007.

development proposal are compared to similar ‘flagship’ or ‘prestige’ developments in the United Kingdom. This masterplan must be understood within the contexts of the siting of the new Parliament building, the council leadership’s desire for regeneration of the Eastern Waverley Valley in light of felt planning success in the city’s west end and the unification of city development projects under a branding strategy which lacked a central crowning achievement to symbolise the new Edinburgh. Its components reflect a process of negotiation between the council, business and tourism leaders, the developer, architects and an international bank which sought to address majoritarian perceptions of the city’s needs, as presented by the primary agitators for the east end’s redevelopment through the publication of the regeneration strategy and the cultivation of the branding strategy in particular. These needs included the creation of a new attraction for internationally mobile business tourists, residents and corporations, the procurement of new jobs into the area, the provision of some accommodations for affordable housing and the achievement of profit for the city as a competitive necessity, as well as for the development’s private-sector participants, the developers and their financial backers.

Presenting the Caltongate masterplan

The proposed development was to be situated at the bottom of the Royal Mile, in the area currently known as the Canongate, as well as a large brownfield site, location of the former New Street Bus Depot, in the Eastern Waverley Valley. It was intended, if implemented, to bring to the area ‘a prestigious new signature office building’, ‘a new public space with exceptional surroundings’, ‘a substantial residential sector featuring a broad range of innovative and desirable homes’, ‘a flagship five-star hotel with comprehensive leisure amenities’, ‘a new fully-equipped conference centre with state-of-the art facilities’, ‘an exciting new arts quarter’, and ‘a

new street, Parliament Way, destined to become the major route between Princes Street and the Parliament area' (Caltongate 2006c). The statement below represents the developers' interpretation of Caltongate, which is intended both to inform Edinburgh residents and potential investors and to cast a particular vision for the area, represented visually by the stylised design displayed on the development's website, www.caltongate.com. The underlined words are hyperlinks in the internet document, and all emphasis and formatting are original.

Very rarely, a development changes the entire dynamic of a major city. The breadth of vision behind the Caltongate project is stunning. Bold and contemporary, it is in total harmony with the commercial life and history of Scotland's capital.

Caltongate is right in the heart of Edinburgh, just yards from Waverley Railway Station and Edinburgh's financial district. It will create a new concourse between the old town and the eastern quarter of the new town.

CALTONGATE. STUNNING. BOLD. CONTEMPORARY.

Caltongate will raise urban living to new standards of luxury and convenience. Running from the Canongate down towards the foot of Calton Hill, in precisely the way that Edinburgh's first houses grew up and formed the historic shape [sic]. (Caltongate 2006a)

On 30 September and 1 October 2005 Mountgrange exhibited their proposal for a mixed-use development in the Old Town at the St. James Centre in Edinburgh, offering it for the first time for public perusal. The plan was unarguably dramatic and intentionally so. Mountgrange proclaimed that they would be building 'the first new street in the Old Town since the nineteenth century!' Encompassing a contiguous area of city-centre territory larger than any that had been addressed by a single masterplan since the eighteenth century, the plans comprising Caltongate would alter views, retail, housing, footpaths, streets and tourist accommodations in the east end of Edinburgh, even the streetscape of the Royal Mile itself, Scotland's most famous street. See the map of the masterplan area below, for a visual image of the development's scale:

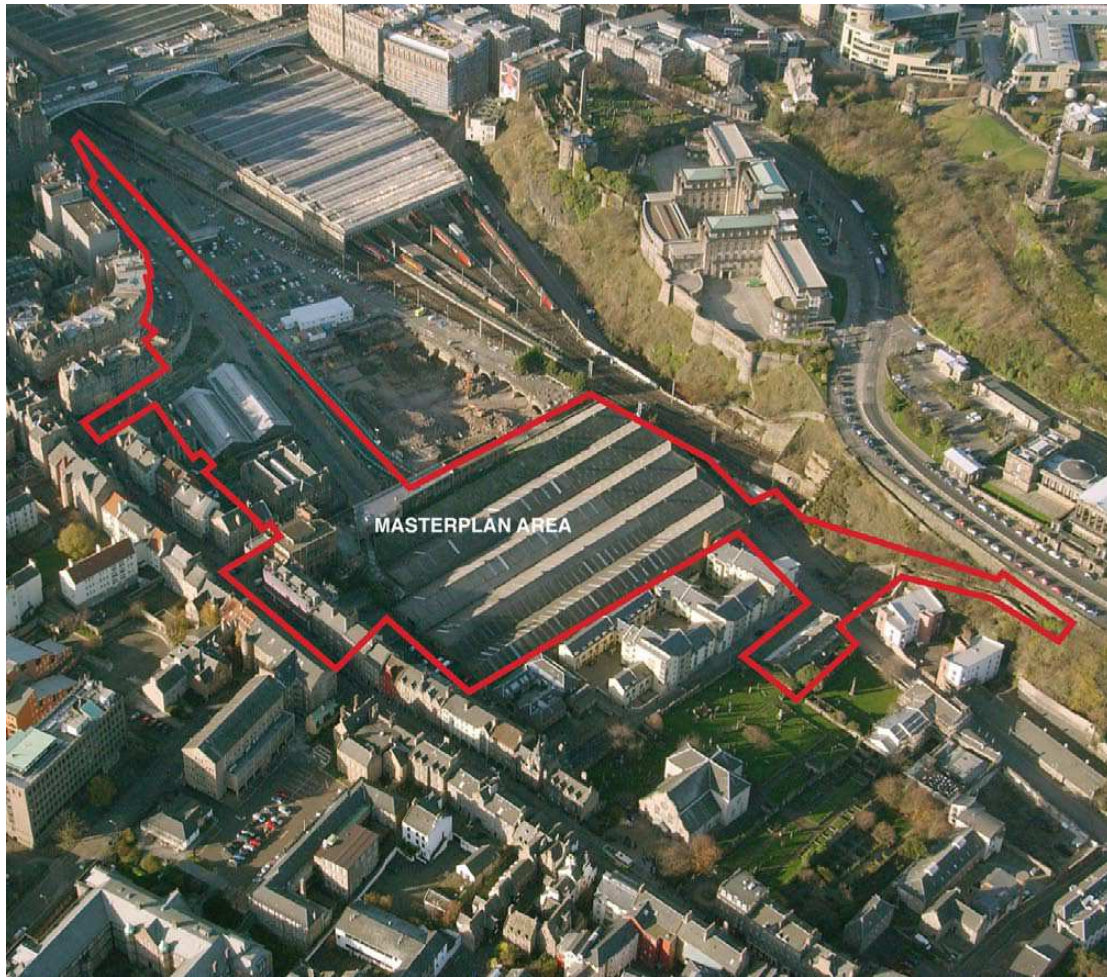


Image from Caltongate 2006a

The components of the Caltongate masterplan integrated offices, cafés, retail, performance venues and residential units, with a luxury facility for leisure and business tourism, a five-star hotel, at its heart. Caltongate's masterplan, as presented in the St. James Centre in 2005, included the following:

- From 150-260 'open-market' residential units
- From 40-63 'affordable' residential units¹³
- Up to 85 serviced apartments
- From 17,000-30,000 square meters of office space
- From 850-1,500 square meters of 'small business' space
- A five-star hotel with 200-220 rooms
- From 3,000- 4,500 square meters of shop space
- From 2,000-3,200 square meters of 'food and drink premises'
- From 300-600 square meters of 'community facilities'
- From 100-200 square meters of 'management space'
- Up to 500 square meters of 'leisure and fitness' space
- A 1,500-square-meter (paved) public square
- A new stepped route through Waverley Valley, from Calton Road to Regent Road
- A new pedestrian route, 'Parliament Way', connecting East Market Street to the street named Canongate
- Various additional wynds and closes [number and position unspecified] (Caltongate 2006a)

Most controversially, the masterplan required the demolition of two historically listed (Class C) buildings, the Canongate Venture and the Sailor's Ark (City of Edinburgh Council 2006: 34-5). Additionally, the demolition of an early twentieth-century tenement building contributed by City Architect Ebenezer MacRae for the Canongate-Corstorphine scheme was required to make way for the hotel's main entrance onto the Royal Mile, and its inhabitants were approached by city representatives who bought the building's flats, so that the building was vacant from January 2008. The rhetoric of the publicity materials for Caltongate, including the excerpt included above, emphasised the transformative capacity of the development, and the 'bold and contemporary' style of Caltongate, as well as its promises of 'new standards of luxury and convenience' and connections to the city's 'commercial life', addressed a young professional audience of potential residents, similar to slickly commercial place-marketing materials for Pittsburgh, as discussed by Plotnicov (1990), rather than reaching out to the Canongate's current population.

¹³ There is no attempt to define 'affordable' in relation to housing in the masterplan document.

The physical and ideological scale of the aspirations associated with Caltongate by its proponents reflected its status as a prestige development and its centrality to citywide marketing efforts such as the branding strategy. Its purpose was inextricable from its image, as Caltongate was anticipated by city council leadership to enhance Edinburgh's marketable image by injecting striking modern architecture into an older neighbourhood, to secure upmarket business tourists' spending by offering them a new five-star hotel and conference centre, to support successful local businesses by increasing footfall to the area, to attract new business investment through the construction of large office buildings, and to diversify the economic base of the city centre by attracting commercial activity to the eastern end of Edinburgh (cf. Bianchini 1993a: 2; Loftman and Nevin 2003: 76). The major components of this prestige development strategy are discussed below, presented with reference to the marketing discourse of Caltongate's publicity materials and considering the transformative intentions motivating these proposals.

Naming

A distinct, named area of the city centre since the twelfth century, the Canongate is curiously absent from all materials describing and promoting the development proposal for Caltongate. While its streets (Market Street, New Street, Jeffrey Street) are named, its closes identified as desirable pedestrian features and the new development is said to be 'in harmony with the spirit of the old town' (its own proper name curiously demoted to adjectival status), not once is the Canongate acknowledged as an existing, let alone historic, neighbourhood. This absence is striking when compared with the discourse of Canongate residents, as well as heritage representatives and conservation-minded architects, which utilises the name to refer to the area at large, often inclusive of the abutting Eastern Waverley Valley. Instead, the Caltongate materials

exclusively refer to the geographic area for which the development is intended as ‘Caltongate’, as if this name were already attached to the part of Edinburgh under consideration. Perhaps more unusual is the continued use of ‘Caltongate’ in such a manner by Donald Anderson, life-long resident of Edinburgh, in an interview in 2010, during which I repeatedly questioned him about the Canongate, and he responded with answers referring to the area itself as Caltongate.

The name ‘Caltongate’ was contrived through the developers’ design of the masterplan. It refers to the distinctive high point Calton Hill, which overlooks both Old and New Towns and bears the romantic remains of Playfair’s aborted Acropolis. The ‘gate’ suffix seems to index the familiarity of the Canongate moniker while attempting to reidentify the neighbourhood with the picturesque landmark hill across the Waverley Valley. As Foucault (1972) has shown, such naming and renaming practices represent attempts to transform the social order and support particular relations of power. The insistence of developers and other development supporters upon the use of the name ‘Caltongate’ to the exclusion of the area’s historic name suggests a powerful move to re-identify the area itself and associate it with places more amenable to the image cultivated by property developers, such as the immediately recognisable Calton Hill. By indexing a history of mostly lower-income residences which have required assistance in the form of the conservation and renovation projects headed by Geddes, MacRae and others, the Canongate’s name was evidently deemed ill-suited to the ambitious area transformation envisioned by the developers, resulting in a subtle naming manoeuvre from the Canon- to Calton- prefix. As noted in the following chapter, the reaction of Canongate residents to this name adjustment was strongly negative, viewing the re-naming as an attempt to erase the area’s history while gradually excluding its long-term residents. As many residents recognised, the

imposition of the Caltongate name was not an incidental event, but rather implied power-laden intentions for the transformation of the area and its inhabitants.

Housing

The construction of prestige developments is often accompanied by the reconfiguration of housing in the immediate area, as the availability of luxury housing is a vital component of the physical redevelopment of the city, in order to make a place suitable to the upmarket consumption demands of the desired visitors and residents (Loftman and Nevin 2003: 87). Through housing choices urban residents construct and negotiate modern identities and social statuses (Fleischer 2007), contributing significantly to their self-identification with lifestyles which aid in the attribution of meaning and coherence to personal and communal practices of consumption (cf. Bourdieu 1984; Miller 1998). The self-affiliation of many current residents in the Canongate with a working-class identity, a generalisation confirmed by observers such as Anderson and many writers of newspaper opinion letters from the wider Edinburgh public, made a necessity of the provision of new and distinctly upmarket residences in the perception of the developers, who recognised that a significant element of luxury is distinction from the masses, entailing important implications for class significations (Fleischer 2007).

Some of the relatively inexpensive city centre housing such as that currently available in the Canongate would therefore be replaced with high-end residences such as serviced apartments, and the residential composition of the city centre itself would be transformed by the ushering in of internationally mobile professionals and tourists. Such residents were considered by Caltongate's developer as potential and ideal 'customers' of the city, to utilise the phrasing of the Edinburgh Branding Strategy, above, and the development thus attended closely to this

majority's associated (and presumed) lifestyle demands. The following excerpt from the Caltongate publicity describing 'living' in the development (and repeating a section of prose from the Caltongate homepage) promised to effect an upgrading of the surrounding area, while suggesting that 'luxury and convenience' are 'in harmony with the spirit of the old town' [sic].

Caltongate will raise urban living to new standards of luxury and convenience...Running from the Canongate down towards the foot of Calton Hill, in precisely the way that Edinburgh's first houses grew up and formed the historic shape of the capital, these luxurious and contemporary studios, apartments and townhouses are in harmony with the spirit of the old town (Caltongate 2006c).

Caltongate's masterplan provided for 150-260 'open-market', serviced residential units, and 40-63 'affordable' units, the latter reflecting the required 25% social housing in all city residential developments. It should be noted that this affordable housing designation, which assigns a reduced rate to those units, would be effective only until the house were put on the market again. At that point the rates would revert to uncontrolled market value, which for new flats in Edinburgh's city centre would be well beyond the range of almost any definition of 'affordable' housing. It is an anticipated and common practice for developers of such projects to situate the affordable houses in the least desirable sites, as from the perspective of developers, the inclusion of any affordable houses in a new-build development represents a net loss of profit. The rates for the rest of the housing on a development site would determined by the real estate market, such that the developers could maximise their profits, and this practice confirmed the expectations of leaders like Anderson, who characterised the developers as primarily driven by the motive of profit, above.

Acceptance of the developer's limited provision for social housing was also informed by Anderson's belief that the construction of 'upmarket' housing would positively affect

Edinburgh's competitive capabilities. The prevalence of these housing practices in new developments in Edinburgh, of which Caltongate is only one example of many, affirms the centrality of majoritarian models of upmarket commerce and tourism to city development and marketing strategies. The Canongate itself houses a mixed-class population, as indicated by the 2001 census results, and despite its reputation and historical identity as a working-class neighbourhood, it also houses a number of residents engaged in professional occupations, albeit mostly at the intermediate or lower levels, ranging from managerial to clerical, sales and service-related work (Scottish Census Records Online 2012). The Canongate's persistent working-class identity, as claimed by residents campaigning for a role in the area's redevelopment and as attributed to the area by observers such as Anderson, thus obscures a more variegated social makeup, which itself partly reflects the long-term impact of a right-to-buy scheme extended to tenants of social housing since the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the consequent turnover of many of these homes to private ownership, the Canongate today retains a greater percentage of social housing stock than the rest of the Royal Mile and Edinburgh as a whole.¹⁴

The framing of city residents as 'customers' and developers as competitive product providers contributes to the market-based neglect of social housing residents in particular, such that they must rely upon government-based limitations to private developer housing practices in new developments such as Caltongate. The Canongate's mix of classes, combined with its reputation as a working-class neighbourhood and the desires for its redevelopment manifested in particular in the housing provisions of the Caltongate masterplan, seem to suggest conditions ripe for consumption-based conflict. Harvey's (2006) critique of competitive market practices in development as contributing factors to a spatial manifestation of class-based struggle in which

¹⁴ An average of 20% of the Canongate's housing stock is rented from the local housing authority, compared to Edinburgh's citywide average of 11%.

social differentiation is accomplished through accumulation appears especially relevant to considerations of the long-term effects of Caltongate's housing policies. Caltongate was intended to become a space of differentiation, and the consumption of housing within this development represented a significant practice by which its distinctive residents were intended to perform their adherence to the majoritarian model.

Architecture

Darrel Crilley has argued that urban architecture is a kind of advertising medium, promoting an image of the city through its particular forms, and that the architects themselves often act as marketers, projecting an optimistic vision of the urban future through technologically advanced simulations (Crilley 1993: 233-235). Nowhere is the image construction of a city more directly manufactured than at the architect's drawing board (or computer, rather). The choice of architect (or firm), aesthetic style, prominent motifs and organisation of space are used to convey a particular message about the city as a whole, through deliberate symbolic references and by situating the city within a particular discourse. The symbolic discourse represented by the architectural style of the Caltongate masterplan and made explicit in the prose of the marketing publicity projected a vision of Edinburgh's future which emphasised competitive advantage in the pursuit of upmarket commerce and tourism across an international field. Architecture in such developments is utilised as an advertising medium to promote places for consumption as luxury products tailored to this particular audience (cf. Lash 1995), and the competitive city strategies of the past thirty years have demonstrated remarkable clarity of insight on this point.

The home page of Caltongate's marketing campaign described the development as 'bold and contemporary' (Caltongate 2006a), while additional marketing materials described the

development's 'uncompromising modern design', featuring 'innovative and desirable' buildings (Caltongate 2006e), which connoted a 'cosmopolitan flavour' fitting of 'Caltongate's status as a new focal point in a European capital city' (Caltongate 2006d). Such descriptions made the advertising role of architecture explicit, as the developer presented a positive and persuasive interpretation of the design style used for Caltongate that depicted Edinburgh as an upmarket destination for commerce, tourism and residence, while asserting the close connection between Caltongate and the desired identity for Edinburgh as a 'European capital city'. While the architecture firms themselves usually present their own interpretations of their work on their commercial web pages, it is the developer (or rather, a public relations firm employed by the developer, in this case PPS Group) who create the official interpretation of the architectural design for a given project, such as Caltongate. The architecture of a development is thus doubly shaped by the developer; firstly, the developer commissions and judges an architect's designs, and secondly, the developer provides the public voice for such designs. The international market-driven competition which, as Fraser and Anderson have above noted, so guides the developer's work, thus represents the context and the criterion of the architecture, and architects who craft their contributions in service of this priority, such as Allan Murray, obtain both more and larger commissions in the city.

Despite the understanding established between Mountgrange and Murray, however, the reception of Caltongate's design by residents, heritage representatives and dissident councillors as well as Fraser failed to reflect the glowing interpretation produced by PPS Group. The architectural style of Caltongate's plans would become a point of vigorous debate in the campaigns for and against Caltongate from 2005-2008, during which time it was variously labelled 'modern architecture', 'postmodern architecture', 'pastiche' and more derogatorily,

‘Euro-block’.¹⁵ Critics noted that the development’s style sought consistency not with the surrounding area of the Canongate, a distinctive feature of which is the tall, narrow stone tenement, but with comparable new-build, large-footprint prestige developments throughout major cities in Europe and North America, producing accusations of a ‘bland’ or ‘anonymous’ style. For the proponents of the project, however, styling the architecture of Caltongate in this manner represented an important movement in its becoming the modern, European prestige development they imagined and desired it to be. Caltongate’s architecture did not merely serve as an advertisement for a particular vision of the future, although this was one important function, but it was intended to serve as an instrument to effect the desired transformations of the area’s physical forms and meaningful associations.

Cultural policy

Throughout Western Europe, a central element of local and regional regeneration which has come to be viewed as an essential component of the ‘quality of life’ perceived by city leaders as desirable to high-income visitors and residents is the provision of events, facilities and a lifestyle associated with the arts (Bianchini 1993a: 14; McDonogh 1999: 372). Cultural policy is intimately concerned with the image-shaping of a city through the marketing of a particular version of a local culture to an international audience, and this is achieved by maintaining a delicate balance between praising the specificity of a culture and trumpeting the universality of its appeal. It may involve the encouragement of investment in the arts and entertainment, the construction of facilities such as museums, galleries and public squares and the implementation of certain avant-garde, or at least dramatic, architectural styles. The writing of such city-wide

¹⁵ These terms were used in numerous personal communications with protesters, throughout 2006-2008.

cultural policy, however, has not been without conflict, a fact that is owed in part to the ambiguity of the remit of the policy and its responsibility to different groups (and contested versions of local culture) in the city (cf. Ingram 2009). Therefore, directives to ensure access for lower-income residents who lack the ability to pay for their admittance into most exhibits and events have clashed with other objectives of cultural policy makers, such as the creation of exclusive facilities to be marketed to the self-conscious wealthy (Bianchini 1993a: 19).¹⁶

Within a few minutes [sic] walk of the apartments, residents will benefit from all of Edinburgh's renowned city centre amenities including shops like Harvey Nicholls, Jenners and John Lewis. Within a radius of around half a mile there are four major galleries, five museums and a wide choice of cinemas and theatres. Uniquely for a city centre site, the apartments are only a few minutes [sic] walk from the wide open spaces of Holyrood Park, Arthur's Seat and Calton Hill. Caltongate is very much at the centre of Edinburgh lifestyle [sic] (Caltongate 2006b).

The above excerpt from the Caltongate publicity under the label of 'culture' illustrates the connection between art, commerce and lifestyle typical of competitive development strategies. Art-related activities were presented within the context of the consumption-based lifestyle of internationally mobile professionals, themselves the imminently desired residents of majoritarian urban planning strategies (cf. Plotnicov 1990; Zukin 1989). Applying such an approach to cultural policy, Caltongate proposed to transform some of the Jeffrey Street arches into glass-faced artists' studios. Most artists currently living in the Canongate area would have had difficulty meeting the rates, which were to be set at around £18,000 per year (Logan 2010). It seems likely that such art studio space was intended to bring more 'upmarket' artists into the area, as part of the area's demographic transformation.

¹⁶ Entrance to national exhibits in public museums and galleries is free in Edinburgh. Not all local cultural institutions are free, however; some newer cultural attractions in the city charge for admittance: the millennium project *Our Dynamic Earth* charges £8.95 for adults and £5.75 for children, while tickets to the Royal Yacht *Britannia*, in Leith Port, range from £5.50 to £9.50 per person.

As an addition to the masterplan, the promise of a live music venue was publicised in April 2007, capable of seating 1,500 people. This music venue was added in response to the council's recent closure and relocation of the Bongo Club, a smaller venue used widely by Edinburgh city centre residents, but especially popular among Old Town 'locals'.¹⁷ Similarly, the artists' space used by the locally based performance group Out of the Blue was closed by council in this period, and the group subsequently moved out of Edinburgh's city centre to offices and studio spaces more peripherally located in Leith and Portobello. The closures of these small studios and performance venues in favour of proposals for larger upmarket provisions for arts-related activities indicated that a concern for the transformation of the east end through the cultivation of a profitable cultural policy represented a considered intention motivating Caltongate.

In the historical shaping of Edinburgh's built environment, the Caltongate masterplan represented a bold and ambitious proposal for the redevelopment of the city's centre, unprecedented since the construction of the New Town in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even the New Town, however, came to fruition as a series of smaller plans executed by various developers over a period of decades, rather than enabling a single masterplan and developer to transform a great swathe of already-inhabited and developed land (Youngson 2002). The alliances forged between city councillors, private developers and architects, a national bank and many representatives of the local business and tourism communities provided Caltongate with a powerful and influential network of support. The relationships between the city council

¹⁷ The Bongo Club re-opened at another nearby location, but its movement from the Canongate was keenly felt by neighbourhood residents, some of whom (through the Facebook group 'Old Town Cryer') began circulating in 2011 a 1999 video clip reflecting on what they had enjoyed then about the 'now demolished' club. Given the short distance of the new Bongo Club from the old location, the heightened climate of persecution felt by many Canongate residents in the wake of Caltongate helps to account for their otherwise disproportionately negative reaction. The film clip is available to watch here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oidfFUiuCOK&feature=share>

leadership and the city's business and tourism representatives proved central to the cultivation of this proposal, despite the great freedom granted to the private developer in their choice of architects and the production of the actual designs. The confluence of future trajectories pursued by the council leadership, developers and business and tourism representatives in the city was achieved through these actors' pursuit of mutual interests in creating a development which would cater to the demands of, firstly, upmarket business tourism and secondarily, the internationally mobile professionals. Beyond these interests, their concerns began to differ, with the council leadership desiring to support the surrounding residential community, the developer seeking to obtain maximised private profits and the business and tourism officials attempting to increase the flow of visitors and workers from outwith Edinburgh. The contribution of the architects was, as Fraser suggested, constrained by the developer-led nature of the planning process, as the firms' designs were pre-judged by the developer according to their fit with developer requirements. The organisation and components of Caltongate therefore reflected its primary proponents' interests in attracting upmarket visitors and residents to the east end of the city centre, within a wider international context of urban development practices pursuant of strategic success in interurban competition.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented the emergence of the Caltongate masterplan as multiply motivated and complex, relying upon negotiations between a variety of actors with vested interests in futures imagined for Caltongate. The imagining of and planning for such projects of becoming was undertaken within the context of Edinburgh's role as parliamentary city in a newly devolved Scotland, a trend toward council involvement in area-specific masterplanning,

and the particular ambitions of leading figures and institutions in Edinburgh. An enduring Geddesian legacy of desire is evidenced in the pursuit of historic area conservation and the correcting of past architectural errors at Jeffrey Street by contributing architect Fraser. The majority of the actors involved in supporting Caltongate in its earliest stages of conceptualisation and design, however, envisioned the project's goals in a manner repetitious of European and North American prestige development strategies, which I have suggested represent a standard or model closely attentive to the preferences of a Deleuzian majority consisting of upmarket visitors and internationally mobile professionals. The components of Caltongate therefore attended primarily to commercial and municipal perceptions of the image and competitive resources of Edinburgh. Despite the mutual discomfort expressed and/or suppressed between some collaborators, these concerns ultimately provided the orientating vision around which the Caltongate masterplan was organised. While the masterplan would be debated, adjusted and tweaked in the three years following its public presentation, the events and actors engaged in this chapter shaped the major components and future perspectives which continued to guide the supporting of Caltongate through 2008.

The transformations promised in the design of the masterplan and the rhetoric of its supporters would be hotly contested in the months and years following Caltongate's presentation to the public. The siting of much of the development within the particular area of the Canongate produced intense contention over the impact of the development upon the Canongate's built heritage, as well as its residential community. In particular, the threat of accelerated deterritorialisation represented by Caltongate in the perceptions of residents of this historic neighbourhood motivated many Canongate residents to pursue projects which cultivated a localised sense of community and emphasised the Canongate's identity as a distinct area, in

resistance to its submersion within a general 'east end' geography. Such responses of Canongate residents, representatives of Edinburgh's heritage organisations and other Edinburgh-based supporters to the proposal for Caltongate are presented in the following chapter, within the context of an energetic and resourceful campaign to halt Caltongate.

Chapter 3

A campaign and a community in the Canongate

Don't let big business monopolise the Old Town!

Banner made by Ken, a SOOT supporter and Canongate resident

It was... not just on a personal level, but it was my home and my community that they were trashing.

Julie, a leader in the Canongate residents' campaign

Having introduced the Canongate within Edinburgh's planning history in Chapter 1 and discussed its desired transformation by Caltongate's planners in Chapter 2, in this chapter the Canongate emerges as a contemporary place, which continues to be subjected to programmes of reform and regeneration. When the rhetoric and design of the Caltongate masterplan communicated its promises to dramatically transform the Canongate, area residents responded by imagining and pursuing alternative schemes of place-making. Challenging the Caltongate visionaries' privileging of commercial planning interests, residents claimed their own ethical rights to shape the city spaces they indwelt through participation in the planning of the Canongate's redevelopment (Lefebvre 1996; cf. Baxstrom 2008). Rather than representing this claim as a cohesive slate of demands, however, I show below that their strategies of planning participation were processually developed through their interaction with the various proponents of Caltongate from 2005-2008.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the proposal of Caltongate closely followed a standard model of urban development, attendant to perceptions of the preferences of a Deleuzian

majority, the upmarket visitors and internationally mobile professionals imagined by members of an emergent growth coalition as key to securing Edinburgh's competitive advantage in relation to other cities. Through their engagement with the masterplan and its supporters, described below, I show how the residents of the Canongate experienced processes of becoming-minor, by which their own desires for the area's redevelopment were defined by their opposition to the majority model of Caltongate. I suggest that the residents' resistance to Caltongate facilitated their pursuit of majority status and concomitant rights, which particularly centred upon their recognition as representatives of the community of the Canongate and their ability to participate actively in the redevelopment of their own urban neighbourhood.

Resident campaigners sought these majority rights, represented collectively as Lefebvre's right to the city, through the pursuit of alternative futures to Caltongate, emphasising the protection of the area's built heritage and the strengthening of the community of the Canongate. For these Canongate-based campaigners, 'community' could not be assumed but was actively cultivated throughout the duration of the campaign and beyond. As self-described representatives of the Canongate's community, campaigners developed their strategies in constant communication and negotiation with the powerful proponents of the area's large-scale and dramatic transformation. These negotiations took the form of public debates, community consultations, council meetings and opinion letters to the *Edinburgh Evening News*, as well as strategic planning submissions and popular votes. Although the campaign efforts of residents and their supporters ultimately failed to prevent the council's acceptance of Caltongate as the chosen masterplan for the area's redevelopment, the campaign-related activities undertaken between neighbours and shop owners in the Canongate contributed to the ongoing 'reinvention' of residents as the 'people' of the Canongate, despite their treatment by Caltongate proponents as

absent or ‘missing’ (Deleuze 2005: 209). These activities served to foster an increased sense of community belonging, which itself was translated into the provision of programmes and events focussed upon the strengthening of the Canongate as a community and the conservation of its built heritage, as discussed in the following chapter.

Community in the Canongate

Throughout the residents’ campaign to halt Caltongate and their attempts to replace this development proposal with alternative plans, the positively loaded concept of ‘community’ was used by campaigners to refer to themselves and to justify their own rightful participation in the redevelopment plans for their neighbourhood. Although initially the Caltongate masterplan included no provisions for engagement with local residents, in the course of the residents’ highly public campaign, the developer and city council eventually made overtures in community consultation. As Abram has noted in her work on community consultation for the redevelopment of a Sheffield housing estate, a thorny issue for community planning participants is the feasibility of full community representation in any formal organisations, even those originating amongst residents (Abram 2006). Thus the residents’ organisations which purported to represent the Canongate community throughout the campaign to halt Caltongate could be argued to only partially represent local views, a complaint aired by Caltongate’s supporters in public and private. As the resident campaigners argued, however, these organisations emerged solely to express local development concerns, garnering a wide array of supporters from the area; no counter organisations arose and no local residents gathered to publicly voice their support of Caltongate. The residents’ organisations themselves should therefore be taken not as exhaustively representative of local opinion, but can be regarded as the only public expressions

of Canongate residents' and business owners' responses to Caltongate which appeared during that proposal's window of consideration.

The identification of the population of residents in the Canongate as a community requires some justification and elaboration, particularly as during the course of the campaign, a study was released by the Social and Spatial Inequalities research group at Sheffield University which found the Holyrood area of Edinburgh (inclusive of the Canongate) to be the 'loneliest place in Britain', and Edinburgh to be the loneliest city, based on factors such as the number of people who are single, live alone, live in private rented accommodation and have lived in their flat for less than a year (Dorling et al. 2008). The dominant reaction to this conclusion among resident campaigners was incredulity, and indeed in *The Times*' reporting on this study, a leader of the campaign was cited as saying that 'a community action group had found a strong sense of belonging among residents, expressed in a long-running campaign against Caltongate' (Wade 2008). She acknowledged the obstacles to cultivating this sense of communal belonging as the prevalent practices in home provision and letting, rather than any attributes of the residents themselves, arguing, 'Young families simply can't afford to buy here, and any three-bedroomed flats are snapped up and let out to students' (Wade 2008). This leader's assessment of community in the Canongate was shared by many other campaign participants, who readily acknowledged the obstacles to community life there but emphasised the impact of the residents' campaign upon the discovery of latent community resources, social networks and the ongoing efforts to cultivate a 'community spirit' through the planning of activities, events and programmes.

Despite originating as a distinct burgh with established boundaries, the Canongate has in more recent decades experienced ongoing processes of deterritorialisation, which Deleuze and

Guattari suggest constitute movements, as flows towards abstraction (1977: 196). Represented as a multiply manifesting process throughout Deleuze and Guattari's work, potentially physical, psychological, or social in its purview, the particular instance of deterritorialisation discussed in this thesis reflects the cumulative effects of ongoing transformations of the Canongate, the origins of which are presented in Chapter 1. These transformations have resulted in a weakening of the Canongate's identity as a distinct place in Edinburgh's Old Town to the extent that Caltongate supporters could reframe the area as the 'east end of Edinburgh', conflate it with the Eastern Waverley Valley, and pursue the adoption of a new name for the area, replacing the Canongate with Caltongate, as shown in Chapter 2. Such a process, according to Deleuze and Guattari, reflects the 'movement of the market' constituted under capitalism, such that territorial identities wax and wane according to the flows of capital (Deleuze and Guattari 1977: 239). The nature of capital as an 'immense deterritorialised flow' works to destabilise the specificity of territories such as the Canongate (Deleuze and Guattari 1977: 237), and capital-pursuant projects such as Caltongate contribute to the loosening of identities from their historical territories.

The workings of deterritorialisation in the Canongate have helped to make geographical delimitations of the area more vague, and many residents' sense of belonging to a Canongotian identity has been largely subsumed by adjacent and overlapping identities, such as the Old Town, Dumbiedykes and Holyrood. Prior to 2005, this deterritorialisation of the Canongate as a distinct locality had transpired so gradually that the process had failed to stir the residents into counteraction. The planning of Caltongate, however, promised rapid and large-scale acceleration of these processes, the necessity of which was argued by development proponents as evidentially supported by the area's character as 'derelict' and 'dingy' (cf. Davies 2006; Hewitt 2006a; Jamieson 2007). I suggest that these characterisations of the Canongate, publicly asserted

through media such as the *Evening News*, as well as the dramatic transformations intended for the implementation of Caltongate's masterplan, prompted many of the residents to respond with the creation—or resurrection—of a territorially-based identity centred around the Canongate: a strategic reterritorialisation which sought communal reinvention (cf. Deleuze 2005: 209). The community identity around which the resistance to Caltongate rallied represents neither a wholly new creation nor a wholly historical recovery, but rather a processually emerging hybrid of the two, itself directly responsive to the particular majoritarian design of the Caltongate masterplan.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the establishment of such territorial counter-identities takes place as an almost inexorable reply to deterritorialisation, a strategic response to that condition which might otherwise be experienced as 'madness' (Deleuze and Guattari 1996: 98). The assertion of a territory, furthermore, carries with it the support of an ethos, or an ethics of dwelling, a manner of being and living associated with a particular idea of place (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 312; cf. Deleuze 1992). The representations of the Canongate which emerged as central to the residents' campaign as a minority voice in urban development affirm this Deleuzian insight in their privileging of practices of community life and building conservation as constitutive of a distinctly Canongotian ethics of dwelling. The residents' insistence upon the Canongate's identity as constitutive of both a distinct territory and an indwelling community was counterposed throughout the campaign to their representation of Caltongate as a development project destructive to this community and its constitutive practices.

This association between community and practice is further elaborated by Veena Das, who has suggested that the establishment and continuation of a community does not rest in a body of shared opinions, but rather in the 'entanglements of customs, habits, rules, and examples' (Das 1998: 179). Das' understanding of community, informed by Wittgenstein's

conceptualisation of forms of life, suggests that community requires practice rather than mere intellectual consent. As the fortuitous phrasing of ‘entanglements’ suggests, however, no precise equation orders the practices, rules and examples into a clear formula for community consensus, and indeed much variation between individuals makes for an uneven, constantly negotiated consensus. To cultivate a sense of belonging to the Canongate as a distinct territory, resident campaigners emphasised their shared concerns for the area’s built environment and assertions of collective continuity with a long-term residential population. In this way, the perceived threats posed by Caltongate occasioned both an imaginative revisioning of the Canongate as a community and simultaneous pursuits of future possibilities.

Engagement with the campaign developments below shows how the campaign which was organised by Canongate residents out of a collective desire to halt Caltongate represents a transformative opportunity out of which new becomings arose (and arise) and new ways of thinking about the Canongate have emerged. The residents’ campaign is represented as a minority project of strategic reterritorialisation, which has taken shape as a response to local expectations that the implementation of the Caltongate masterplan would exacerbate already-active processes of deterritorialisation, resulting ultimately in the loss of the Canongate as a distinct locality and resident community. Through the residents’ campaign, the community itself was altered by its engagement with the Caltongate proposal, and reflection on this process is embedded in discussions of the campaign development in the sections below.



MacRae tenements, intended for demolition in the Caltongate masterplan
(Photo by Sally Richardson 2007)

Residents becoming campaigners

Although it was organised and led by residents of the Canongate, the campaign would eventually include a range of participants: Canongate residents, local business owners and other interested persons throughout Edinburgh, from conservation-minded architects to former Canongate residents and supportive observers. The demographics of the group represented varying ages, backgrounds and histories in the Canongate, as well as a gender mix of about 60% women and 40% men. When I attended my first campaign meeting in October 2007, held in a common room of Old St. Paul's Scottish Episcopal Church on Jeffrey Street, I was struck firstly by the mix of people present. There seemed to be no definite 'type' which I could ascribe to these men and women; some smartly dressed professionals in tweed jackets (such as architect

James Simpson) chatted over a cup of tea to young men with punk-era hair styles and ear piercings (such as Liam, a resident of the nearby housing project Dumbiedykes and brother to one of the campaign's leaders, Julie, introduced below). Interspersed amongst the chatting crowd of campaign participants a handful of local university students, attracted by the media coverage as I had been, watched the proceedings with interest but lingered on the fringes, lacking an introduction.

As I took a biscuit, a cup of tea and a folding chair, I made my first acquaintance with Rhiannon, an independent photographer in her early thirties who had moved to the Canongate in the last two years. Rhiannon proved to be welcoming and informative, helping point out the central figures in the campaign and describing her own disgust with the Caltongate plans. My early contacts in the campaign were persons like Rhiannon, who would attend meetings, volunteer to work at events and sign petitions. It took some time for me to gain access to the campaign leaders, however, a fact owed partly to the campaign's high public profile and the numbers of undergraduate university students attracted to it as an object of short-term study. An early attempt to politely decline the leaders' request for a campaign donation in exchange for an interview resulted in my being prevented from interviewing leadership representatives for many months. My exclusion was complicated, unbeknownst to me at the time, by a fresh tabloid rumour that private developers were using spies disguised as 'PhD students' to infiltrate the ranks of protest campaigns like this one (Gilligan 2007).¹⁸ Eventually however my continued presence at campaign events and a camaraderie gained through long hours spent in the observation gallery of the council planning committee relieved me from suspicion. The

¹⁸ Canongate campaigners' familiarity with this rumour, circulated primarily through a tabloid largely unavailable in Edinburgh, illustrates their embeddedness at the time of this report (autumn 2007) within a network of community organizations attempting to influence city planning in the United Kingdom.

discussion below represents the cumulative yield of my time spent with the campaigners, from an outsider in the beginning, to a distantly-known accomplice and then finally as a familiar participant and even friend.

This journey is not uncommon to the experience of anthropological fieldwork, as anthropologists have historically relied upon a productive tension between their roles as ‘stranger’ and ‘friend’ to gain insight into particular social contexts (Powdermaker 1966). Tension between these roles of the fieldworker highlights the intersubjective nature of anthropological knowledge, as produced through the combined (though not necessarily unitary) efforts of anthropologist and interlocutor (Geertz 1973; Rabinow 1977). While the relationships between anthropologists, their informants and such situated knowledge has received attention, characteristic of ethnography’s reflexive turn (cf. Clifford 1986), the role of friendship in ethnographic fieldwork has been less rigorously analysed. When discussed, friendship has been represented, respectively, as productive of an ‘ethical dilemma’ for the anthropologist (Friedman Hansen 1976) and constitutive of a fieldwork ‘paradox’ (Hendry 1992).

This representation of friendships in fieldwork as problematic reflects at least partially, I suggest, an imagined yet persistent ideal of friendship as devoid of vested interest, despite a great deal of ethnographic evidence to the contrary (cf. Bell and Coleman 1999). In my own experience, friendship emerged gradually as a result of long hours spent in shared company with my interlocutors, as well as the coincidence of certain interests of all parties, such as the fate of the Canongate’s built environment and residential population. As an anthropologist in the field, I also regularly removed myself from my informants’ company and critically engaged their intentions and representations, adopting a position more akin to Powdermaker’s ‘stranger’. Neither position, however, completely captured my relationship to the field, my interlocutors, or

the knowledge we intersubjectively produced; instead I practiced the refusal of either entirely emic or etic perspectives. Rather than representing a methodological problem, therefore, I found that it was this movement, not only intersubjective but also interpositional—between friend and stranger, participant and observer—that facilitated my analysis of the multiple planning projects pursued in the Canongate.

In defining the leadership of the campaign, those persons who were initially the most reluctant to grant me access, I identify those residents most actively involved in the planning and execution of the campaign, its public representation and its formal offices. While not responsible for all the major innovations and strategies accomplished by the campaign, these individuals dedicated thirty to forty hours per week to its support. This small category is represented by three women: Sally Richardson, Julie Logan and Catriona Grant. Having made only a previous casual acquaintance through their residence in the Canongate, the emergence of the Caltongate masterplan prompted these women to negotiate an active partnership which maintained the core of the anti-Caltongate campaign from 2005-2008. As the primary agents responsible for the series of strategic manoeuvres which comprised this campaign, a brief introduction to these women below precedes discussion of the campaign events themselves.

Sally is a tall lean woman with shoulder-length blonde hair and a flair for dramatic expressions belied by a quietly observant attitude that often seems demure at a distance. She moved to the Canongate some eighteen years ago, having grown up with her family on a farm in Angus. She and her partner Tom lived in a flat on the Canongate's eponymous main road, with their two school-age children Dean and Rose, both of whom were born in that Canongate flat, for most of that period. Although she was unemployed outside the home during the campaign, Sally is adamant in describing herself as working-class, and her lack of a formal employment structure

allowed her to dedicate herself as a full-time volunteer for the campaign against Caltongate. Her partner occasionally attended evening campaign meetings after he returned home from work, and the children were frequently brought along to weekend activities. Sally was the first of the leaders to reach out to me, and while I worked in a boutique on the Canongate's main thoroughfare she would occasionally stop by and chat on a slow afternoon. A stylish dresser who favoured tall brown riding boots, slim jeans and colourful cardigans, Sally would admire and try on a few dresses but openly laugh at the prospect of spending £300 to buy one. As the campaign wore on, the strain of balancing her family life with the ever-present events and demands of organising a programme resistance became increasingly evident, and by 2010, after the campaign was abandoned in the wake of Caltongate's approval, Sally and her family moved to an artists' colony at nearby Abbeyhill for a fresh start (and a home away from the potential redevelopment of the Canongate).

By contrast to Sally's restraint, Julie is a force of nature, with long brown hair, heavy silver rings on all her fingers, and an artificial height achieved by the five-inch rubber platforms on her ubiquitous, worn black boots. She always speaks with urgency and often with profanity, and her background as a professional planner (although she is currently, voluntarily unemployed) as well as a penchant for persuasion led her to frequently seize the speaking platform at meetings. Although not a native of the Canongate, she was born in the former Elsie Inglis Hospital in nearby Abbeyhill to a single teenager who was forced to release her for adoption. After growing up in Dollar, Clackmannanshire, under the care of her adoptive parents, Julie moved back to the Canongate, where she has lived for eighteen years. She met her biological mother Janet upon arriving in Edinburgh, discovering to her delight that Janet had also lived in the Canongate and preferred it to any other part of the city; some of Janet's reflections on life in

the Canongate are presented in Chapter 4. In addition to a half-brother Liam who lives adjacent to the Canongate in Dumbiedykes, Julie has two daughters, a teenager named Nikki and Leah, who is enrolled in the Royal Mile Primary school. Nikki especially took an active role in the campaign, organising youth activities to support community development, writing a letter to the *Edinburgh Evening News*, attending meetings and encouraging young persons' involvement in the various campaign events. Leah often accompanied her mother to campaign events after school and on weekends, more likely than not joined by the family's German Shepherd, Poppy, who travelled as frequently off the leash as she did on it.

Julie and Sally first met formally at Mountgrange's second revealing of the Caltongate masterplan, a small event with little advertising or advance notice, held at the Canongate Kirk in October 2005. Having viewed the plans separately, they began striking up conversations with other visitors, polling reactions and expressing their own reservations. Soon they encountered each other, and their shared concerns at the proposed demolition of the listed buildings and the tenement, as well as what they perceived to be intentions for a dramatic overhaul of their own community, united them immediately. Responses from the few other visitors were mixed, as some individuals were convinced that the council would not allow the demolition of listed buildings and destruction of homes which the plan required. Others seemed resigned to the inevitability of the process, shrugging their shoulders and exclaiming that if the council supported this plan, then nothing else could be done. Julie and Sally felt the former view to be naïve and the latter attitude hopeless, and so they quickly began discussing strategies for popular discussion and mobilisation. Julie recalled her own reaction to the proposal, which prompted her to pursue organisation immediately, below:

‘No, you’re not going to f***ing knock down our neighbourhood! Right—I’ll make a poster! Let’s make a banner and stand in the street!’ Because you know, as I say, when I was a teenager, that’s what we did. You went, ‘That’s bloody wrong! Right, make badges and make banners, and go and get people to sign things. Go around the doors.’ It seemed quite normal, because it was like, What else *can* you do? What is the alternative? The alternative is to sit in your house and go, ‘Oh, it’s terrible’, and get really depressed about it.

Their immediate goals centred upon informing and encouraging engagement with the proposal by the residents of the Canongate itself, whom they felt to have been unjustly excluded from the designing of this proposal. The first meeting of the Canongate Community Forum (CCF) was scheduled for that night and advertised through word of mouth, only hours after the masterplan was displayed at the Canongate Kirk. The express purpose of this forum was described, in the meeting, as enabling the concerns of Canongate residents and business owners to be aired and translated into immediate action, particularly in regards to Caltongate (Canongate Community Forum 2007a).

The focus of the Canongate Community Forum on the Canongate and its direct occasioning by Caltongate distinguish this group from other organisations which have attempted to represent public opinion in the Old Town, most notably the Old Town Community Council (OTCC) and the Old Town Association (OTA). The former organisation represents a creation of the municipal authority, whereas the latter association emerged in 1976 out of the public debates over building conservation in the 1960s and 1970s, as presented in Chapter 1. The Old Town Community Council consists of voluntary representatives elected every May, from the Old Town areas of the Grassmarket, Johnston Terrace, Holyrood, Canongate, Princes Street Gardens and Abbeyhill. As a provision of the city council’s Neighbourhood Partnership programme, each of Edinburgh’s twelve neighbourhood partnerships is chaired by a local councillor and maintained within the council’s organisation. Participation in the Old Town Association, as a local interest

group, is open to anyone interested in the Old Town, from Edinburgh and abroad. Membership in the OTA costs £3 and buys a vote on the committee members who meet monthly to discuss ‘issues of concern’ and provide ‘an accessible forum for views on matters of local interest such as amenity, noise, traffic, parking, liquor licensing and so forth’ (Old Town Association 2011). While both the OTCC and OTA were familiar to Sally and Julie, they felt these Old Town organisations to be too far removed from the Canongate, accountable instead to the Old Town as a whole and committed to bureaucratic methods of lobbying and supplication, to adequately respond to the immediate threats of Caltongate.

Far from perceiving the CCF as a competitor for public representation, members of both the Old Town Association and the Old Town Community Council expressed an interest in responding to the Caltongate proposal, and collectively these groups would eventually join the CCF in voicing concerns. Sally and Julie intended the CCF to rally Canongate residents to claim their rights to representation in the planning of the Canongate’s redevelopment, an endeavour which they and their early recruits anticipated to require an activist campaign rather than the mere navigation of established bureaucratic procedures. The CCF’s first order of business was to gather and discuss Canongate residents’ (and some business owners’) views on Caltongate, which Julie and Sally believed to be one out of many possible masterplans for the area’s redevelopment, followed by participation in the subsequent planning process that was hoped, following the public expression of local concerns, to attend to the needs of the Canongate community.

It was through the Canongate Community Forum that Sally and Julie met Catriona, or Cat, who would become another significant contributor to the campaign. A bright-eyed, loquacious woman with short dark hair and a ready laugh, Cat carried a physically dramatic

presence into the room, accentuated by the colourful, chunky necklaces which offset her dramatic necklines. Like Sally and Julie, Cat had also moved to the Canongate as an adult. The Canongate was a familiar neighbourhood from her childhood, however, as her local authority tenement flat in the heart of the Canongate had previously been let to her aunt, and her grandparents had lived only a few blocks away. Cat had been accustomed to visiting the area and listening to tales of life within it for many years prior to adopting it as her own. Living with her partner Carl, Cat was working two jobs, as both a social worker dealing with cases of domestic violence and a night security guard. She advocated a leftist idealism and participated regularly in socialist marches, a sympathy Julie shared and actively promoted, for instance bringing to light the history of the Canongate's residents in 'radical' social activism by sharing black-and-white film clips at campaign-associated events of workers' and women's marches through the neighbourhood from the 1960s.¹⁹ Having entered the campaign conceived by Sally and Julie and working two jobs, Cat did not contribute as much time as the campaign's initiators, but she took on responsibilities representing the campaign online, through newspaper opinion letters, and was a reliable and vocal participant in organised events and public meetings, which she often chaired.

Although the Caltongate masterplan proved shocking to these women in its ambitions for the area's transformation, Julie insisted that most residents of the Canongate had expected that the red-brick shell of the former bus depot languishing in the Waverley Valley would attract redevelopment initiatives. They had not, however, anticipated that such plans would involve the

¹⁹ Both Cat and Julie espoused a leftist political idealism which often got the campaign associated with 'socialism', from observers in other community campaigns in Edinburgh to council leaders like Anderson and some heritage representatives. Sally rarely spoke of a particular political stance, reflecting the approach of most other campaign members who emphasised the Canongate's community and built heritage over any larger political project.

Canongate itself. According to Julie, the first inkling any of the residents suspected of plans for the Canongate followed the quiet emergence of a construction site taking shape on New Street; having heard nothing in advance about this project, Julie and her neighbours felt startled, and as they watched the structure grow, they grew alarmed. It became apparent that this new building reflected an architectural design more stylistically like the new Parliament building than its surrounding built environment of the Canongate, and residents like Julie, quoted below, began to suspect that the Canongate, caught between these two dramatic structures, was intended for radical redevelopment:

[P]eople always knew that the bus depot was going to be demolished and redeveloped at some point. But people were also really p*ssed off, because the council headquarters had come in without anybody knowing anything about it. The first any of us knew about the council headquarters was when they were starting building works, and we were going, ‘What the f***’s going on there?’ ‘Oh that’s the new council’—‘*What* new council headquarters?!’ Because nobody had known anything about it, and as it was being built it just kept growing and growing, and everybody kept going, ‘They can’t be going any higher than *that*’, ‘Surely it’s not allowed to go higher than this,’ ‘There’s supposed to be regulations about how high things are here!’ So, by the time Mountgrange came in, and we saw the full extent of the plans, like they weren’t just going to redevelop the bus depot, which we kind of were expecting—a reworking of the development that had been approved for the bus depot—it was kind of like, ‘What? You’re going to start knocking down listed buildings and houses as well?!—in order to make *that*? You’re no’ f***ing justified—there’s no reason—that’s bollocks, man—you don’t need to do *that*!’

The organisation of the Canongate Community Forum, which was soon followed by the creation of Save Our Old Town (SOOT), designated as the ‘action arm’ of the discussion-orientated CCF, represent immediate attempts on the part of residents to influence the planning of their neighbourhood. When asked why they sought to do this, Julie exclaimed, ‘Because we *live* here! It’s our bloody city too!’ All three women expressed the conviction that implementing an ambitious plan like Caltongate without the consultation of the affected residents was wrong, and Cat often expressed the situation as the Edinburgh council trying to ‘get away with’ something which, although not illegal, was known to everyone as underhanded and

morally corrupt. Such claims represent well Lefebvre's conception of a 'right to the city' consisting in a 'right to urban life', or residents' pursuits of the satisfaction of 'anthropological needs' (1996: 147), which Baxstrom has argued include the right to participate in the shaping of one's urban environment (2008). The campaigners such as Sally, Julie and Catriona found themselves in the predicament of claiming rights which were not defended by legal codes, and therefore they were forced to make the case for their inclusion in the planning process, while also constructing and presenting alternative solutions to and critical analyses of the Caltongate masterplan. Julie characterised the feelings shared amongst many of the Canongate residents cum campaigners, below:

So, as I said, by the time Mountgrange came in with their thing, I think people had had enough, particularly because there was that feeling of, that more and more of the Old Town—particularly *that* [east] end of the Old Town, because that end of the Old Town has always been the sort of poor part. It's always been the more neglected part, in terms of getting services or support or whatever. And it's always been sort of more residential in nature and whatever. So people really felt that this was the last bash to get this through, and we were all getting f***ing cleared out and thrown out. And for what?! And I think it [popular sentiment] was—'For a five-star hotel'?!'

As Weszkalnys (2010) has argued, the informal and ill-defined right of public participation in urban planning has become widely accepted as 'good practice', reflecting an interest on the part of planners in the wellbeing of the current city residents. The lack of measures for such participation and its outcomes, however, have meant that planning decisions often depart from the desires of the interested public in their respective definitions of the public good. Such a difference of interpretation certainly divided resident members of the protest campaign from the proponents of Caltongate, and throughout the course of the respective campaigns for and against Caltongate, disagreement over the wider benefits of the community's demands and the implementation of the Caltongate masterplan motivated a struggle over the futures represented by each. Below I present an abbreviated narrative of the campaign actions

and events orchestrated to halt Caltongate and pursue alternative futures for the Canongate. This history of the campaign grants particular attention to the role and representation of the Canongate as well as the impacts of this campaign upon the community itself.

Campaign for the Canongate (2005-2008)

The strategies, events and negotiations with Caltongate's proponents which comprise the residents' campaign represent an extended attempt to establish themselves as planning participants in the regeneration of the eastern end of the Old Town and Waverley Valley. Led by Sally, Julie and Catriona, the organisations CCF and SOOT sought to claim their right to incorporation in the formal planning process. In order to do this, they represented themselves and these organisations as spokespersons for the community of the Canongate, a distinct and historic territory of Edinburgh. This present-day Canongotian community was characterised as continuous with a history of long-term residency in the neighbourhood and therefore claimant to the role of advocate caretaker of the area's built heritage, uniting a concern for the built environment and resident community in a common effort to imagine and pursue an alternative future for the Canongate.

The Canongate residents' early attempts to participate in the planning of the area's redevelopment sought to work with the developers and city council, as evidenced in their response to Jock the Weathercock's disappearance as described in the Introduction, in the hopes that once their extreme unhappiness with the plan was realised by its proponents, some of their demands could be addressed in a revised masterplan. In my subsequent interviews with Caltongate proponents, however, it has emerged that the possibility of radically adapting the masterplan to community needs and desires was not seriously considered. Instead, the primary

demands of campaigners, which centre upon the conservation of the existing built heritage and strengthening of the residential and business community, were framed by planners as potential ‘issues’ or ‘problems’, the impacts of which the council and developers sought to minimise through a programme of ‘community consultation’ described below.

Built heritage and community considerations, however, have a storied history of influence within Edinburgh’s planning and development, particularly since the highly politicised calls to public action in defence of the city’s built heritage and local communities in the 1960s and 1970s. Due to the general waning of public interest in urban development experienced in Edinburgh in the 1980s and 1990s, Caltongate proponents did not adequately prepare for the backlash which would follow. In fact, I show below that rather than minimise the disruption to planning caused by residents, the attempts made to appease potential concerns about Caltongate’s impact on the city’s built heritage and a long-term residential community succeeding in clarifying the resident campaigners’ collective sense of what might be ‘lost’ and sharpening their commitment to prevent this eventuality. The minimalist programme of consultation with resident representatives organised by Caltongate proponents reflected their convictions that residents represented at best an inconsequential minority or more troublingly, a misrepresentation of a people ‘missing’. As in the case of the colonisers who proclaimed, ‘There have never been a people here’, the disappearance of the Canongate community from Caltongate proponents’ concerns of planning consultation set the residents upon a project of becoming, to reinvent themselves as the endangered community of the Canongate (Deleuze 2005: 209).

In their assessment of Caltongate’s impact upon the Canongate, residents like Sally, Julie and Catriona highlighted loss—of historic buildings, memories and communal relationships. As

they began organising a programme of resistance to Caltongate and designing alternative options for redevelopment, these women imagined themselves to be the protectors of the Canongate and potentially the agents of its revival. Subsequently-joined supporters such as Jim, Bern and Margaret adopted this perspective as well, and as Bern, an architect who had owned a flat in the Old Town for some years, commented during the campaign, Caltongate presented the incentive for residents to take stock of their current surroundings, including weaknesses and strengths, and realise that ‘they really had something worth fighting for’ in the built heritage and community. Mobilising as a minority collective confronting the majoritarian development model represented by Caltongate offered the residents an occasion to contemplate the Canongate as constituting both a people and a place. They utilised campaign events to reinvent themselves as the community of the Canongate and reterritorialise this historic neighbourhood, in the face of its potential overhaul.

Through the events presented in this section, interactions between campaigners to halt Caltongate and the masterplan’s proponents are briefly outlined for the live period of Caltongate’s consideration, from 2005-2008. The story which emerges follows the residents’ pursuit of alternative futures for the Canongate as a process of becoming-minor, which prioritises the conservation of the existing built environment and its tailoring towards the needs of the local community, by contrast to the Caltongate proponents’ intentions for dramatic redevelopment and attentiveness to the perceived demands of internationally mobile professionals and tourists, described in Chapter 2. This narrative engages the reinvention of the Canongate as a community during this period, through the campaigning activities of local residents which facilitated the coming-together of neighbours and the collective imagination of futures for the Canongate.



Photo by Alister, shared through Creative Commons 2011

Organising a campaign

A major asset to the campaign's early stages of organisation was an existing social network with a recent history of public organisation and protest, which was based out of the Dumbiedykes housing project, adjacent to the Canongate. In 2005, neither Sally nor Julie had gained much experience with computers; while Sally owned one but used it for little besides personal email, Julie described herself as a 'complete technophobe'. It was through their education with computers at the recently funded Dumbiedykes IT Centre (an experiment in

‘shared learning’, greatly assisted by the aid of retired ‘silver surfers’, according to Julie), that they shared their cause with an interested potential advocate, a young man named Sean who had been involved in multiple city protests organised from Dumbiedykes. Sean gave them the web address ‘www.eh8.org.uk’, based on the postcode for the Canongate and surrounding area bordering Holyrood Park, which he had been saving for a worthy cause, as well as lists of important contacts in the press and city council, and he taught them how to post messages to their website, make posters and photocopies and otherwise organise a public campaign. As Julie later exclaimed, ‘If it weren’t for the Dumbiedykes IT Centre, we never would have got off the ground!’ The assistance provided by experienced campaigners such as Sean enabled Sally and Julie to focus immediately on the planning process itself and strategising points of engagement with it.

After the presentation of the masterplan, the next act required for Mountgrange to proceed in its implementation was the purchase of the necessary land, which was owned by the city council at the time. This event occasioned the first petition in what would become a very long paper trail for the protest campaign, as Sally led in writing the city council requesting that Mountgrange not be sold the land, on the grounds that, due to the financial gains (£2 million and 20% of the profits) which the council stood to make, they were not fit to make an objective decision on the matter. The council declined to take their view, voting to sell the land to Mountgrange and thereby convincing Sally, Julie, Catriona and the wider membership of the CCF that they needed to intensify SOOT’s campaign and heighten its public profile.

The intensification of the campaign involved firstly the creation of additional networks of support across Edinburgh, and the CCF found ready allies in the city’s heritage organisations, several of which were already criticising the Caltongate proposal in letters written to the *Evening*

News and official statements (Bradley 2005). Such alliances emphasised Caltongate's mismanagement of the area's built heritage, including provisions in the masterplan for the demolition of listed buildings and the large scale of building footprints uncharacteristic of the Old Town (Jackson 2007). While not attempting to specify the demands of the CCF, these heritage organisations' statements reflected their own origins in the community conservation groups of the 1960s, as in the 2006 joint press release of the Cockburn Association and Edinburgh World Heritage Trust which suggested that the Caltongate masterplan should be revised to respect 'the special character of the Canongate and the aspirations of the local community' (Cockburn Association and Edinburgh World Heritage Trust 2006). The contacts cultivated between the CCF, SOOT and these heritage organisations succeeded in establishing these groups as representatives of an active residential community, affirming the campaigners' contributions to reterritorialising the Canongate. Despite their high public profile and cultural prestige, however, the heritage organisations proved ultimately unable to sway the council planning committee members, although they succeeded in attracting further public attention and popular censure to Caltongate (Ferguson 2008b; 2009).

In addition to the heritage organisations, the CCF and SOOT established ties with other neighbourhood organisations in Edinburgh which were campaigning for a variety of local causes, such as the restoration of recently closed public baths in Stockbridge, the replacement of a community sports facility with an upmarket stadium and fields for paid use in Meadowbank and the transformation of a public park into a parking lot for the zoo at Corstorphine Hill. Together these groups formed a para-organisation which they named Edinburgh At Risk (EAR), and the leaders gathered to share strategies and successes and help spread awareness of their particular concerns. This para-organisation worked most effectively at establishing channels of

communication, however, as after a few initial, optimistic meetings the leaders of the various groups found themselves so busied with their respective projects that they could afford little extra time for further collaboration and contribution to others' causes.

Within the Canongate neighbourhood, the campaigners' networking strategies emphasised the sharing of information through personal contact, a methodology intended to help foment a sense of communal unity. Through daily interactions with neighbours and local shop owners, Sally and Julie in particular sought to informally introduce themselves or 'catch up' with old acquaintances, in conversations through which they would bring the Caltongate proposal and its potential impacts to people's attention. The outcome of these encounters was, on the whole, the nurturing of a general sense of goodwill between Julie, Sally and the residents and shop owners of their neighbourhood. Some individuals, such as my employer and her daughter who ran an upmarket women's boutique which fronted the Canongate's eponymous main road, participated in and enjoyed these neighbourly exchanges while quietly maintaining a differing personal perspective on Caltongate, which framed the advertised result of increased footfall to the shopping area as a very promising eventuality. While these networking exchanges proved fairly successful in their contribution to nurturing a sense of community in the Canongate, therefore, they were somewhat less effective as instruments of persuasion, particularly among some small business proprietors in the area.

During the final months of 2005 and the early months of 2006, the Canongate campaigners' efforts included organising public lectures by heritage representatives and architects on topics related to 'quality' development and the architectural heritage of the Old Town, writing opinion letters to the *Evening News*, posting information to the www.eh8.org.uk site, and pursuing a line of inquiry about some of the land involved in the sale designated

‘common good’.²⁰ They established a regular pattern of public meetings, and they cobbled together various groups of people to carry placards and heckle at pro-Caltongate events. Such activities caught the attention of some Scottish government representatives and local councillors, who began to comment upon the development, often offering supportive remarks in newsprint, and occasionally attending CCF meetings.

During this period the debates over Caltongate began to dominate *Evenings News* headlines, which would often run several articles on the topic in a week, as well as opinion letters written by both proponents and detractors of the proposal. The high profile gained by the CCF and SOOT through this publicity further established these organisations as representative of the Canongate community, while their associated activities increasingly brought residents together in support of the campaign. Participation in these activities further facilitated the sense of ‘belonging’ to the community, which Julie mentioned above, while the campaigners were increasingly recognised as legitimately representing the views and desires of an established community of the Canongate, as evidenced by the more frequent appearance of local councillors and MSPs at the groups’ official meetings.

Sally, Julie and Cat attempted to maintain a distinction between the organisation responsible for community representation, the Canongate Community Forum, and its separate but closely related ‘campaign arm’, Save Our Old Town. This attempt at separation reflected their conviction that a specific organisation dedicated to fostering community life in the Canongate should be maintained, whatever the outcome of a given development proposal; the community of the Canongate could not be taken for granted. The CCF would therefore sponsor

²⁰ Although the suggestion that the use of common good land should be determined by local community was employed by SOOT and CCF members throughout the anti-Caltongate campaign, in an interview in 2010 former council leader Anderson clarified that this argument lacked any legal teeth. According to Anderson, common good land is treated for all legal purposes as land owned by the City of Edinburgh Council.

public meetings to discuss upcoming and ongoing planning decisions and other concerns affecting the local community, while SOOT would take responsibility for organising campaign events and activities, from banner-making workshops to marches in front of the council building on the days of major planning meetings. There was such overlap between the two groups, however, in terms of people involved and the groups' concerns, that it became difficult for even the resident campaigners to maintain a clear distinction between the two organisations. Cat would occasionally acknowledge this ambiguity with a laugh; it was not felt to be genuinely problematic for the campaign, but their desire to keep the CCF separate from SOOT reflected Sally, Julie and Cat's desires for an organisation representative of the Canongate as a distinct locality, capable of facilitating the social and political debates of a vibrant community. As an organisation, the CCF helped to combat the encroaching deterritorialisation of the Canongate by encouraging the ongoing development of a community-based discourse about local needs, and it afforded a stark contrast to the meagre offerings for community consultation by Caltongate's supporters.

Community consultation

Following the above-described period of intense activity by the campaigners, in March of 2006 a revised masterplan was released by Mountgrange, without the originally proposed Waverley Valley stairway, which had since been estimated to cost an extravagant £5 million. At a deputation subsequently given to the council's planning committee, Sally and Bern voiced the CCF's concerns that this masterplan did not, however, reflect any substantial changes which attended to the criticisms of heritage representatives or community campaigners. This deputation made little impact upon the voting of the committee members, who decided as a

majority to support this revised masterplan on 9 March 2006. As the latest event in the residents' well-organised and very public campaign to resist the implementation of the Caltongate masterplan, however, it influenced the council leadership to reconsider their own role in managing the public discussion of Caltongate.

As noted above, public participation in planning is widely valued as a social good, and yet its lack of formal definition leaves the concept open to the interpretation of many stakeholders in the planning process. As the project's developer, Mountgrange had originally sought to involve the general public in a primarily informational and persuasive role, seeking to assuage any potential concerns about the development through the organisation of public exhibitions of the masterplan, at which developer representatives were on hand to answer questions and discuss concerns with attendees. When the residents, aided by the support of heritage organisations, demanded recognition as a self-proclaimed community of the Canongate, claimed their right to planning consultation and detailed their dissatisfactions with Mountgrange's provisions for public engagement, the planning committee of the city council determined to offer some directed outlets for discussion between stakeholders.

The council's planning committee organised a period of formal consultation from 13 March to 8 May 2006, which continued the public exhibitions, adding a Planning Workshop to which representatives of groups the council recognised as 'stakeholders' were invited on 22 March 2006, followed by a Community Planning Day which was open to the public, held at the Royal Mile Primary School on 22 April 2006. Notes from a breakout session at the Planning Workshop which included Bern, Allan Murray and then-director of Edinburgh World Heritage Trust Jane Jackson expressed concerns that 'efforts had been made by the developer to consult with the community but... there seems to be a lack of real engagement between the two parties',

producing the sense that the upcoming Community Planning Day would be crucial to convincing residents that their input on the development would be taken seriously (City of Edinburgh Council 2006c).

Indeed the Community Planning Day, billed as enabling ‘members of the local community to discuss the emerging “Caltongate Masterplan”’ (Kevin Murray Associates 2006: 3) was very well received within the Canongate community. Between seventy to one hundred individuals participated throughout the day in workshops to discuss development concerns and considerations, emphasising the needs of the local residential and commercial (primarily small-business) community. Following the planning day, however, resident campaigners closely observed the subsequent planning proceedings and the impacts of their suggestions and concerns upon the Caltongate masterplan, ultimately finding few discernible alterations to the draft masterplan.

In June 2006 the council approved the masterplan, with only a few generalised amendments as follows:

- Take account of the historic character of the Old Town, including narrow winding streets and an emphasis on pedestrianisation.
- Retain the social mix of the Old Town, providing 25% of the housing in the 'affordable' range.
- Provide a new stepped route to Regent Road.
- Ensure that the 'breakthrough' into Canongate at the site of the current 1930s tenement is narrower than vehicle width. (Bradley 2006)

Such amendments, added by the council members, bore the weight of suggestions rather than demands delivered to the private developer, and indeed the first two amendments are entirely subjective, relying upon the developer and architects’ interpretations of ‘the historic area of the Old Town’ and ‘the social mix of the Old Town’, the stipulation about 25% of the housing

as ‘affordable’ being pre-existing council policy. Ultimately, the stepped route to Regent Road was not offered by Mountgrange, and the solution subsequently proposed to the narrowing of the tenement ‘breakthrough’ was a large ‘pend’ which continued to draw much criticism from the campaigners due to its height and material composition. The final version of the Caltongate masterplan was approved by the council’s planning committee on 5 October 2006, with only the individual planning applications for the specific buildings on the site remaining before the design of Caltongate would be considered finalised. The lack of substantial feedback from the community planning exercises led many campaigners at this time to feel misled by the council’s promises of community participation in the planning process.

As the planning committee voted to accept the masterplan, however, some of its members suggested that the developers organise a further programme of ‘community consultation’, in an effort to involve the local residents and stem some of their criticisms, despite this late stage in the development’s planning. The stated purposed of these consultation events, which included the creation of a Caltongate Liaison Group, the provision for a long-term Caltongate public exhibition near the proposed site and the production of a Caltongate Community Newspaper,²¹ was listed in a council document from 9 November 2006 as, ‘to ensure public awareness of the Masterplan and the planning application stages and to ensure continued voluntary pre-application consultation with the local community and wider stakeholders’ (City of Edinburgh Council 2006b). In early 2007 Mountgrange also commissioned a survey to assess public opinion in Edinburgh on Caltongate, the affirming results of which were criticised not only by campaigners

²¹ The usage of ‘Caltongate Community’ here represents one of the developer’s attempts at historical and social revisionism, as discussed in Chapter 2.

but also by a Scottish MSP, who highlighted the survey's lack of mention of building demolitions, as well as its dismal rate of response, measuring less than 10% (Somerville 2007).

The Mountgrange-led organisation of a 'public consultation' or 'community consultation' group was cynically viewed by CCF members as an attempt to appease city councillors without sacrificing the Caltongate plans to their demands. Julie dismissed the group coldly, 'This is not public consultation. This is a PR exercise by Mountgrange' (Picken 2006). Representatives of the CCF and SOOT who attended the first meeting of the group argued that the word 'community' should be stricken from the title, since, in the words of Catriona, the meeting 'had nothing to do with the community', in that Canongate residents and business owners, while invited to attend, were unable to do more than talk about their concerns, as there were no arrangements made for feedback from the developers. Catriona concluded that 'the whole thing was traumatising and unhelpful'. The CCF members' change in perspective from the community planning day to the inception of the Caltongate Liaison Group illustrates well the transformation of their understandings of the developers and their intentions. By 2007 the campaigners had become convinced that the developers were not interested in allowing for any community contributions to the planning process for the Canongate. Although residents' subsequent participation in such events would be minimal, reflecting their increasingly jaded attitude, the allocation by Mountgrange for such community consultation was emphasised by its supporters as reasonable evidence of the firm's concern for public opinion throughout the duration of the proposal's consideration, and this interpretation was repeated by Anderson while reflecting upon the planning process in 2010.

A community plan

[Caltongate] did nothing to support the local community, and the residential units they were providing were all for the kind of people I didn't want to see move in. There were no residential facilities, shopping, places to buy food—these really simple things that people need, they weren't providing. This dense kind [of development] with no outdoor space... [The developers] justified it, saying, "Well the Old Town is very dense anyway." Well, it is, but actually it desperately needs space. And the closes, which it's historically always had, had now fallen into disrepair or been taken over by businesses for rubbish disposal. So it just seemed to me that nobody had done any serious masterplanning. It kind of annoys me, because they call it a masterplan, in the sense that it's been done by a master or something, but a masterplan should be something which looks at the real needs of an area in very simple basic things.

Bern

The impact of the Community Planning Day was not limited, however, to a few minor amendments to the masterplan. Instead of appeasing the residents with the sense that their opinions were being considered, the council-organised event inspired campaigners to seek not merely to halt Caltongate but to promote another vision, which reflected the needs and desires of the local population. The CCF utilised the suggestions and networks of support presented at this event to design an alternative masterplan, which city planners and architects supportive of the residents, including the above-quoted Bern, helped to construct in the weeks following the Community Planning Day. Called the 'community plan' by the CCF, this design and accompanying list of development objectives represented the translation of a territory-based community identity into attempted provisionings for the ethical practice of community life within the territory of the Canongate.

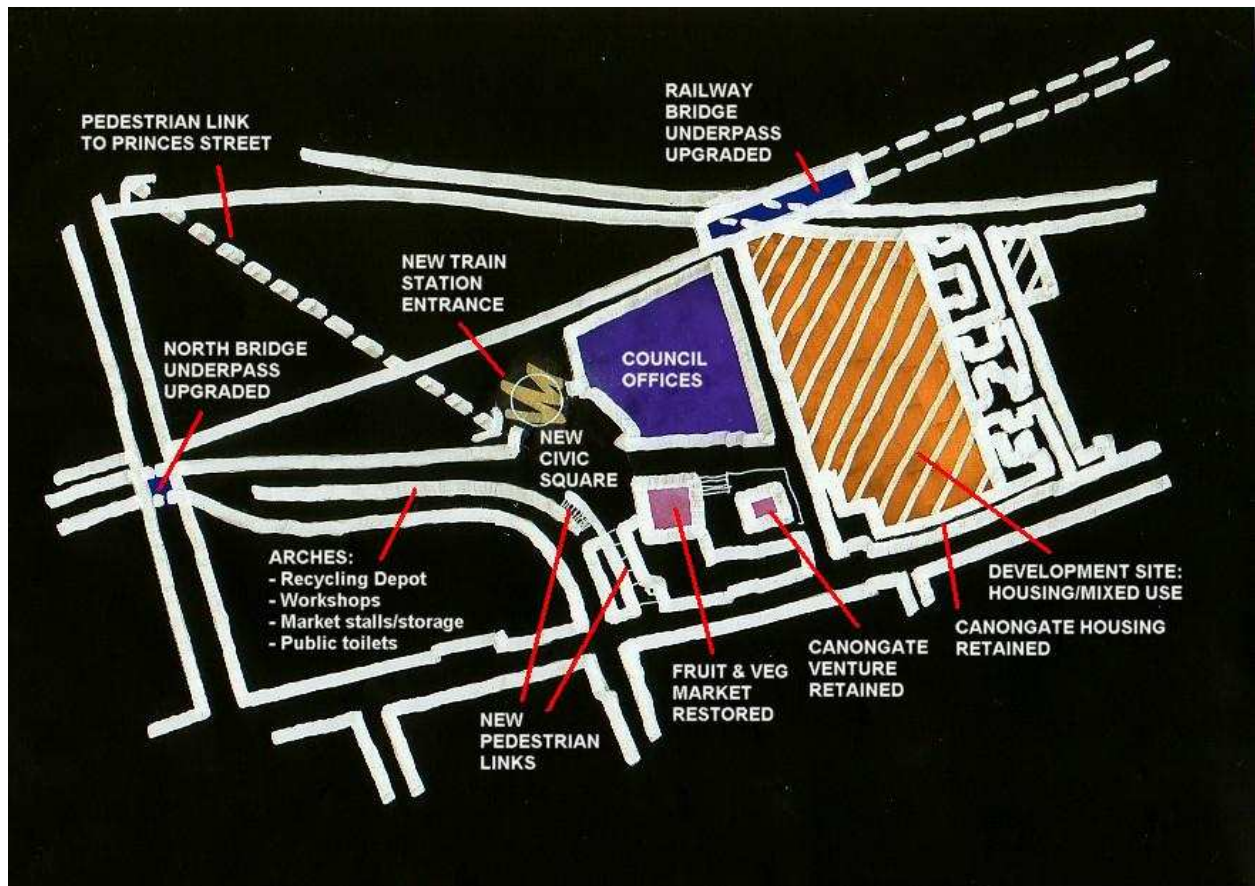
Ultimately, this undertaking effected very little impact upon Caltongate's progress. The powerful backers of Caltongate did not recognise the community plan as a viable alternative masterplan, and the councillors on the planning committee took little notice of it, continuing to direct their primary concerns to the consideration of the Caltongate masterplan. Julie was

particularly invested in the community plan, as a former professional planner, and she advocated for the community plan at council meetings and CCF meetings. Although the plan continued to be largely ignored by city planning authorities and the proponents of Caltongate, and it played a very minor role in the campaign against Caltongate, I submit that it represented an important accomplishment for the resident campaigners and inspired the further development of community organisation and representation efforts, discussed in Chapter 4.

The community plan reflects both the agency of local residents and their collective response to Caltongate's approach to area regeneration. It represents a systematic and creative attempt to imagine and craft a vision of the future that seeks to 'reinforce and strengthen the historic urban structure and buildings as well as providing much needed local facilities for the existing community' (Canongate Community Forum 2006a). Consistent with this directive, the following 'community aims and objectives' were listed as the major elements of this masterplan:

- Increased mixed affordable housing with facilities for families, young people, old people, live/work spaces etc., designed for low energy use and sustainable urban living
- Provision for a range of local shops which facilitate a mix of residents and visitors
- Improved open space provision, pedestrian networks and communal children's playspaces
- Affordable artists' studios, workshops and small business units
- Facilities for the homeless population
- Indoor market facilities
- Community art centre
- Youth theatre
- Public toilets

(Canongate Community Forum 2006a)



Map from Canongate Community Forum 2006a

The emphasis on providing for the current residents (including homeless persons) and business owners is evident, and the concern for preserving the area's built heritage is expressed in a further section of the community plan document, which is intended to translate the above general needs into specific directives. An excerpt from this (extensive) list is provided below:

- No existing buildings to be demolished unless it can be clearly demonstrated that they are beyond repair or un-lettable, whether or not they are listed. They contain a lot of embodied energy, as well as contributing to the general character of the area.
- Sound residential buildings where people can/do live should not be demolished.

The community plan may be seen as an attempt to create an ethical, alternative masterplan for both urban development and social life. The design of this plan reflects residents' desires to protect the built environment of the Canongate and provide community-derived solutions to the recognised need for 'regeneration' of what the community plan refers to as the 'New Street area' of the Canongate. These ambitions and motivations are stated plainly in the conclusion to the community plan, presented below:

With these aims and objectives in mind we have developed a strategy for the regeneration of the Canongate which accords with the current Development Plan, the World Heritage Management Plan, the Community Plan and Historic Scotland's Memorandum of Guidance. These alternatives would have long term [sic] benefits for the community by creating a socially, economically and environmentally sustainable development for the area. Most importantly this plan is based on the aspirations and needs which the existing community have identified. (Canongate Community Forum 2006b)

Designing this masterplan helped the residents to clarify their own hopes for the Canongate and establish a community consensus, through the council-organised planning day, on some of the particular actions required to regenerate this neighbourhood. While the proposal of Caltongate had occasioned public discussion of the Canongate's needs, and the subsequent campaign to modify or halt Caltongate had facilitated this discussion through the organisation of neighbourhood groups like the CCF and attention from local media like the *Edinburgh Evening News*, the planning day enabled focussed attention to possibilities for the Canongate's redevelopment beyond reactions to the components of Caltongate. I suggest that discussion amongst the Canongate's residents on this topic contributed to a growing sense of belonging to a long-standing community with historical value, and even while the immediacy of Caltongate as a possibility required continued attention to its representation and reception, this Community Planning Day event represented a turning point that further encouraged residents to imagine the Canongate as a community in whose future they were invested.

As a step towards the implementation of this community plan, despite the council's recent acceptance of Mountgrange's final masterplan, in October 2006 the CCF submitted a planning proposal to turn a neighbourhood parking garage into a public market. Much to the surprise and delight of Sally, Julie and Catriona, the council accepted the proposal in early February 2007, and it appeared that various aspects of the alternative masterplan might represent viable development possibilities. In the CCF's victorious press release, however, it was noted that Mountgrange had expressed their displeasure at this development, criticising the market proposals as likely to 'prejudice the wider regeneration of the area'. Instead, in support of the 'economic anchor' of Caltongate, the proposed five-star hotel with an address on the Royal Mile, they had intended to establish ownership of this parking garage themselves (Canongate Community Forum 2007a).

Campaigns and counter-campaigns

The encouragement felt by resident campaigners in the wake of their proposal's acceptance by the council was short-lived, as Mountgrange and its supporters in the city council subsequently intensified their own campaign for Caltongate, seeking fast-tracking approval in the council and courting public opinion in the press. The individual proposals began to be submitted by Mountgrange in April 2007, and notable changes include the incorporation of a 1,500-seat live music venue and the addition of some affordable housing. Eighteen tenement flats were still intended for demolition, as well as the Sailor's Ark and Canongate Venture buildings. Although the council continued to await the remaining planning proposals for Caltongate, which would require additional votes, they voted on 18 April 2007 to give Mountgrange fast-track approval to begin construction on the foundation, noting that the planning committee did not want to 'put

Mountgrange off the development project, as it was felt by the project's council supporters that the protests and derivative requests for amendments to the masterplan had slowed the project down.

The developer's influential supporters within Edinburgh's business community responded to the criticisms of Caltongate and its challenge from the Canongate's residents by seeking to stabilise the planning process and move it forward, towards acceptance of Mountgrange's masterplan. The Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, led by Caltongate advocate Ron Hewitt, created a taskforce with the stated intent to 'improve relationships between builders and heritage watchdogs ... and lobby politicians to speed up the city's planning system', in order to 'attract investment and new jobs to Edinburgh, rather than see them go to Glasgow and Newcastle'. Mountgrange executive Manish Chande was given the leadership of this taskforce (Ferguson 2007b).

Although such powerful strategies and alliances seemed to be easing Caltongate towards a final vote of approval within the planning committee, in May 2007 the publicity gained by the campaigners seemed capable of upsetting the proposal once again. The anti-Caltongate campaign, particularly the stream of CCF members' opinion letters to the *Evening News* critical of the Labour leadership's support of the proposal, appeared to have succeeded in influencing public perceptions, especially regarding those councillors most vociferously supportive of Caltongate. In the May council elections, prominent supporters of Caltongate Trevor Davies and Donald Anderson failed to win the posts they sought, and the Caltongate-friendly Labour leadership was replaced by a heretofore untried majority party, the Liberal Democrats. New Council Leader Jenny Dawe characterised the designs for Caltongate as 'grotesque and hideous' in the press (Ferguson 2007a), lending new hope to the community campaigners. This hope died

quickly, however, as Dawe soon back-tracked in her comments on Caltongate and ultimately executed a complete about-face, stating that '[t]he Caltongate development will play a huge part in securing the economic, social and cultural life of the city centre and I am pleased that we can now take this matter forward' (Ferguson 2008b). It soon seemed that the coalition between councillors and developers would remain as strong as ever, much to the frustration of CCF members who continued to court the opinion of their elected representatives. Barring one or two councillors who represented the CCF's perspective at planning meetings, the weight of planning authority continued to align itself with Moungrange Plc. and Allan Murray Architects.

As a result of the council's fast-track building permission, in the final days of January 2008, Mountgrange began work on the least controversial portion of the development, the construction of thirty-six affordable homes on the Calton Road site. The various planning applications for the masterplan would only be considered in February, however, and the CCF and SOOT prepared to face the developers, planning committee and architects in the council chambers for what was regarded as the final decision on Caltongate. In addition to the petition via which they collected support for the anti-Caltongate campaign, the groups wrote up deputations to deliver during the meeting. Also delivering deputations against the Caltongate masterplan at this meeting were representatives from the Cockburn Association, Edinburgh World Heritage Trust and the Architectural Heritage Society. In support of the masterplan, representatives of Scottish tourism, the Chamber of Commerce, the developers and Allan Murray's architecture firm gave presentations. The meeting lasted from 10am until 7pm, with only a single break (for lunch), during the latter hours of which the councillors debated amongst themselves and asked many questions of the presenting groups. For the final hour, however, the outcome of this wrangling seemed evident, and the masterplan was approved over the objections

of Steve Burgess, Green Party. Mountgrange were asked to return to the committee with more affordable housing options in the near future, but otherwise the plan was approved in its current state (cf. Roden 2008).

Julie, Sally and Catriona were devastated, and angry tears were shed. They felt that they had successfully mobilised and represented the views of the local community, been supported by respected heritage organisations and architectural professionals, shared the community's views with their governmental representatives, and taken action to create community-generated alternatives that were approved by planning experts. Despite their organisation and execution of these community-centred strategies under the pressure of timetables imposed by the city's planning process, a feat deemed remarkable even by Caltongate's supporters such as Donald Anderson, they still failed to meaningfully impact the reception of this major development proposal. Despite Julie's above-quoted insistence that the campaign had succeeded in fostering a sense of community belonging in the Canongate, the February 2008 planning meeting seemed to determine that such community spirit was irrelevant to residents' claims to a right to influence the planning of their neighbourhood.

For the time being, the only discussion of the future among the campaigners centred on the possibility of the council's decision being taken to public inquiry by the Scottish Parliament. Although there was a heavily felt sense of injustice having been committed by the planning committee, even the most hopeful CCF member could only weakly suggest a public inquiry. Such an undertaking seemed unlikely, based on a recent Executive decision to support the sale of Aberdeenshire land to Donald Trump, who intended to construct a luxury golf resort there despite local outrage (cf. Lister 2007), and even in the case of an inquiry, the outcome for the CCF was still uncertain.

The other hypothetical source of assistance mentioned was UNESCO, source of the World Heritage status of Edinburgh's Old Town. Even though UNESCO lacked the power to discipline Edinburgh City Council over their decision to support Caltongate, it was hoped that the international organisation might threaten to remove the World Heritage commendation, thereby giving the City of Edinburgh Council a 'black eye' and a lot of embarrassed explaining to do. Neither of these options would fulfil the protesters' hopes, however, as the Scottish Government decided in June 2008 not to take the issue to public inquiry, and although UNESCO representatives did visit Edinburgh and produce a scathing report of the council's development activities, these remarks did not impact the already-granted planning approval of Caltongate (Ferguson 2009).

Conclusions

With no remaining formal avenues for appeal, the usually brash and bold leaders of the CCF temporarily foundered. Last-ditch wishes for an economic fallout would prove uncannily accurate in several months' time (Wade 2009), but the first weeks following the council meeting felt bleak, and the campaign of SOOT against Caltongate was officially closed. The CCF was also suspended indefinitely, as the passing of Caltongate's planning proposals indicated to many members that there was no immediately pressing need to assemble and discuss this Canongate neighbourhood, which was now viewed as advancing towards a very uncertain future. Some six weeks later, however, Catriona presented an opportunity to extend the community-oriented discussions and events of the campaign, through a project that did not promise to halt Caltongate, but rather to extend the campaign's efforts at strengthening the community of the Canongate and

representing it positively to the wider Edinburgh public. This project, and in particular the reminiscence sessions incorporated within it, are the subject of the following chapter.

The events described in this chapter have shown that the resident-organised campaign detailed here represents not merely a movement of protest opposed to the proposal of the Caltongate masterplan. Through their encounter with Caltongate and their subsequent development of a campaign, residents experienced a process of becoming-minor, in counter-distinction to the majority model of urban planning represented by Caltongate. In their subsequent efforts to achieve the rights of recognition and participation associated with the majority, the leaders of this campaign pursued the creative reterritorialisation of the Canongate as a distinct locality associated with an ethics of community practice. I have suggested that their campaign represented a project of becoming, invested in the reinvention of the Canongate as a people and a place. The reterritorialisation of the Canongate was intended to support residents' claims of their own rights to planning participation, in the hopes of reshaping the Canongate's built forms and spaces in a manner attentive to the minority, or residents', needs and desires.

Engaging Caltongate as a powerfully supported planning project required the campaigners to present the Canongate as a vibrant community, a characterisation which necessitated a public reinvention of the area. This re-presentation of the Canongate was undertaken by campaigners through opinion letters to the local press, as well as the cultivation of supportive networks of heritage organisations, neighbourhood groups and residents and business owners in the Canongate itself. The experiences of the campaign served to bring residents into regular contact, as well as provide opportunities to collectively imagine an alternative future to Caltongate, through the collaborative design of the community plan. This campaign therefore served to cultivate a growing sense of community necessary to the undertaking of the community

project described in Chapter 4. While promising to transform the Canongate as a physical and social space, and in the estimations of many residents, to destroy it, Caltongate therefore simultaneously provided a critical impetus for intensified participation of this Deleuzian minority in future-orientated projects of community-building. Whether the Canongate would be redeveloped according to the masterplan of Caltongate, as a place and a community it was by 2008 already being reshaped by the occasion of Caltongate's proposal, suggesting intertwined rather than opposed trajectories for the place-making strategies transforming both the Canongate and Caltongate.

Chapter 4

The Canongate Project: Representing and mobilising the Canongate

This community group here! This here-- to me, it's a real start!... This startin' up yourself... you get to know people. People come along and they talk, 'You know that shop—I quite enjoyed myself.' [They'll] say, 'I had a wee blether, eh,' or, 'I hadn't seen her in ages—imagine so-and-so's story...' That's the start of it. Do you see? You even take [the] grandbairn along, and you say, 'How're you goin'?' It starts like that; it's that small, eh. This is a wee start, though. Here's the shop; people can look in the window here and see somethin's goin' on. It's just the nosiness, you see, 'Here you go, look in and see what's in.' And here you've got the pictures up and everything; it's great! I think it's really a great idea—really, I think it's great!

Margot

The organisation of the Canongate Community Forum and the campaigning activities of Save Our Old Town ultimately failed to prevent the city council's approval of the Caltongate masterplan. City councillors remained unconvinced by campaigners' efforts to reterritorialise the Canongate and reinvent a sense of community identity expressive of the ethics of dwelling which residents attempted to provision through the design of their community plan. While councillors evidenced some concern for the representation of the Canongate community in the planning process, expressed in their organisation of a Community Planning Day and subsequent advice to Mountgrange regarding the developer's programme of public consultation, the campaigners' criticisms of Caltongate and demands for alternative development options were not received as legitimate planning input by the majority of the planning committee members.

Significantly, prominent supporters of Caltongate such as Donald Anderson and Malcolm Fraser resisted engagement with the campaigners and, in retrospective interviews, characterised them as comprising a small interest group which *did not represent the community of the*

Canongate. Rejection of the campaigners' comments and demands did not therefore risk alienating the 'actual' community of the Canongate and thus bringing the shame of denying community planning participation upon the proponents of the development or the councillors themselves, as shown in Anderson's (2010) statement below:

There was actually public support for [Caltongate], in and around the area. Who there wasn't support from was the political activists in and around the area, and they made a lot of noise about the development and made very strong arguments, as they saw it, in favour of rejecting the applications.

Anderson's argument for public support of Caltongate in the Canongate area relied upon the Mountgrange-commissioned survey, the results of which were noted in Chapter 3 to be rejected not only by the campaigners but by some prominent political leaders in Edinburgh. He re-characterised the community campaigners as 'political activists', a term he utilised to discredit their demands as merely expressions of their occupational proclivities towards organised protest. As a band of political activists claiming falsely to represent the residents of the Canongate, the campaigners' critical commentary on Caltongate, Anderson implied, should have fallen on deaf ears.

Malcolm Fraser (2010) vented his frustrations in a slightly different manner; he compared the campaigners and the community they purported to represent to another 'real' community, defined as such largely in terms of size.

I couldn't understand it! I just still can't understand it! I still can't understand why somehow these local people—and I've been a community architect in Wester Hailes, so I represented a community of 17,000—some of them distressed and deprived, and some of them angry and fighting. And good. I was proud to be a part of that, etcetera, and I know communities all over Scotland, but a couple hundred of them here—apparently each of them deserved their own farmers' market and park.

In comparison to the sprawling housing project of Wester Hailes, Edinburgh's most populous development (see Chapter 1), the Canongate community was characterised by Fraser as too small ('a couple hundred') to require planning representation in the shaping of their local area. Furthermore, he continued, the campaigners' ideas for alternative development plans were selfish and unrealistic ('each of them deserved their own farmer's market and park'). Although not echoing Anderson's representation of the group as 'political activists', Fraser characterised this campaign, which sought to represent the Canongate community in the redevelopment of their neighbourhood, as unmerited according to the properties of the community itself (primarily its size) as well as the campaigners' aspirations (unrealistic and selfish).

Neither Anderson nor Fraser accepted the campaigners' claim to a community-based right to participate in the planning of their neighbourhood, a particular instantiation of their right to the city (cf. Baxstrom 2008; Lefebvre 1996). Their characterisations of the campaigners suggest that the residents' efforts to claim recognition as the community of the Canongate, whose members were invested in debates over area redevelopment and able to participate constructively in the planning process (cf. Abram 2006), were both astutely considered and ultimately unsuccessful. Although the campaigners had rightly perceived a need to revision the Canongate and its residents, both for public representation and the practices of community life (cf. Das 1998), and they had helped to foster a sense of community spirit in the neighbourhood through their campaign, the revisioning of the Canongate failed to persuade the council planning committee members or Caltongate's powerful proponents. This denial of recognition as the Canongate's community evidences the residents' status as the 'missing' people, a minority in Deleuzian terms struggling in to claim a right to the city and in so doing, to open up lines of flight from the majoritarian model of development represented by Caltongate.

The residents' failure to achieve community recognition and thereby participate in the planning of the city's spaces, combined with the continued characterisations of the Canongate by Caltongate proponents in the press as a 'dingy' or unattractive area in need of major redevelopment, presented the campaigners with an offensive and unacceptable discourse of the Canongate and its residents. In his study of the changing interpretations of public spaces in the historic city of Hikone, Japan, John Mock has noted that even historic places which are popularly perceived to have lost a contemporarily relevant cultural meaning tend to be destroyed, to make way for new development. Historic buildings that gain modern-day reputations as 'old-fashioned' or 'dirty' are 'simply bulldozed' (Mock 1993: 73). During the period of Caltongate's consideration as a planning proposal, I suggest that the leadership of the Canongate Community Forum recognised that, through strategic rhetoric, the developers and supportive city councillors were encouraging such a shift in popular perception of the Canongate (see Davies 2006; Hewitt 2006a, 2006b; Jamieson 2007). Despite the efforts of Sally, Julie and Catriona to challenge these negative framings of the Canongate through the writing of opinion letters to the public media outlet of the *Edinburgh Evening News*, while the Caltongate masterplan was a live proposal, they had been forced to focus their efforts on protesting this plan and preventing its implementation.²²

It was not until the Caltongate masterplan was affirmed by the planning committee of the city council in 2008 that the residents were presented with an opportunity to dedicate themselves wholly to the representation of the Canongate as, contrary to the characterisations of Caltongate's proponents, a place of historic value and residence to a long-term vibrant community, the members of which were deserving of planning participation as such (cf. Abram 2006; Healey 1997; Sorenson 2009). This chapter presents the efforts of former campaigners

²² See opinion letters by Jim Johnson (2006), Julie Logan (2006) and Sally Richardson (2006b) as non-exhaustive examples.

and emerging campaign sympathisers to revision the Canongate, through the organisation and implementation of the Canongate Project, which is introduced and discussed here as integral to the residents' ongoing development of community-derived projects of becoming and their own conceptions of this community. Representations of the Canongate which emerged from this project elaborated a close relationship between the area's built environment and the community's mnemonic heritage that would shape subsequent community-building efforts of the area residents and their supporters.



St. Mary's Street space for the Canongate Project (Author's photo 2008)

Introducing the Canongate Project

The Canongate Project was funded by the Scottish Community Action Research Fund (SCARF), a program run by the Scottish Government from 2002-2009, for a ‘community research project’. This project provided the former campaigners with a physical space in the Canongate for six weeks, and per the remit of SCARF, the group of participants set out to conduct research on and thereby create knowledge pertaining to their community, its history and its needs. They hoped to use this data to bolster their argument for the importance of community-led development in the Canongate, rather than the developer-led process which had produced the Caltongate masterplan.²³ Despite the council’s approval of the Caltongate masterplan and the subsequent closure of the community’s related protest campaign (SOOT), the leadership of this campaign, along with a handful of participants, gathered in the newly-appointed ‘community space’ (a then-unused storefront) on St. Mary’s Street to discuss the organisation and components of the project. The mood of the initial meeting was informal and hopeful, and though the discussion was ostensibly open to everyone’s suggestions, Julie, Sally and Catriona fell naturally into the leadership roles, despite the increasing friction created by close-quarter collaboration between their intense personalities. The other participants included Canongate residents (Meg and Jim), Edinburgh architects (Bern and Neil), a former Canongate resident (Margaret) and an anthropologist (myself). Jim took notes while we set out a rather ambitious programme of events for the next six weeks, volunteered ourselves with abandon and suggested additional potential contacts and contributors.

²³ The community group’s initial (2007) attempt to attain a physical space in the Canongate which was non-residential and non-commercial had focused on attaining the right to use the Canongate Venture building, which was one of the historically listed buildings marked for demolition in the Caltongate masterplan. The council had been refusing to renew leases on office space within the building, however, in preparation for its eventual destruction, and so the group’s request was denied.

From this first meeting, the Canongate Project was scheduled to include the following: an official launch party to which municipal and national government officials, members of heritage and architectural organisations, developers, the varied leaders of affiliated Edinburgh At Risk causes and other assorted contacts were invited; a program of guided walks through the Canongate; films screened weekly; a banner-making group; talks given in the shop space by an assortment of notable figures in architecture, heritage, conservation and community activism; weekend 'block parties' in the shop and its garden; a mapping project conducted among visitors to the shop space and children in the local primary school; and finally, a reminiscence programme carried out with older residents and current residents in the Canongate. I participated in this project primarily through the facilitation of such reminiscence sessions, together with Margaret, the results of which are discussed in a following section below.

The Canongate Project was designed to address two primary questions: 1) How can a wider sense of community be cultivated amongst residents? 2) What are residents' views regarding the proposed developments in the surrounding area? (Canongate Project Final Report 2008) The latter question was addressed primarily through the design of a survey, inquiring about perceptions of the Canongate and its needs for future development, which event facilitators would encourage visitors to complete throughout the project's six-week duration. This survey generated data for the group as to local interests in the Canongate's redevelopment, which were presented in their final report for the Canongate Project, offered to the public at the closing project event held in the Scottish Storytelling Centre in June 2008. While the survey provides a significant instrument to be used by the group in support of future alternative plans, the component events of the Canongate Project were directed towards the first question, seeking to cultivate a 'sense of community' amongst residents. These various events, presented below,

represent the campaigners' extended efforts, as a Deleuzian minority, to reterritorialise the Canongate as a historical place associated with a particular ethos of dwelling (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1987) that is continuously maintained from previous generations to the present-day inhabitants. In nurturing a sense of community spirit in the Canongate, participants in the Canongate Project encouraged residents to feel as though they belonged to this community and therefore to a Canongate identity-as-practices-of-dwelling (cf. Das 1998). This Canongotian manner of dwelling, or ethos, emphasises residents' ethical responsibility to conserve the built heritage of the area, as a valued artefact of the historical Canongate, and by extension Old Town, communities. The Canongate Project presented community activism as a native Canongotian approach to political life and a historically rooted means of protecting the local ethos. The events of the Canongate Project therefore sought to cultivate a sense of community as ethical practice that emphasises continuity with an idealised collective past and the need for conservation of the built artefacts of this past. In their contributions to this sense of community, the Canongate Project events provisioned members of the local area to adopt active roles in this ongoing reterritorialisation of the Canongate.

The resourcing of the Canongate community undertaken through the Canongate Project built firstly from the presentation of the Canongate as a historically significant place, an idea which is integral to the depictions of the present-day Canongate community as continuous with its past. The programme of events designed for the Canongate Project therefore reflected the participants' dual interests in presenting the special history of the Canongate and provisioning its current residents for community activism. Sometimes the relationship between the Canongate's history and present-day population was treated as foundational: in preparation for crafting a 'community banner', the banner-making group met firstly at the People's Story Museum to learn

the history of banner-making and their uses by local communities, particularly in the Canongate. In the schedule of weekly film screenings, the first two films presented were titled, 'A Mile of Memories', and 'Past Perspectives', respectively, orientated to ground viewers in the particular history of the Old Town before engaging the four subsequent films which portray instances of community participation in development initiatives in and around Britain.

Historical reconstructions also appeared as objects of interest in their own right; each of the five 'talking walks' discussed past persons, events and places in the Canongate and Old Town, from the Scottish and Newcastle brewery sites to a tour of places relevant to the 'radical' Old Town. Of the twelve talks given, two discussed purely historical topics: the autobiographical reminiscences of Janet and the 'radical history' of the Canongate. While the 'community mapping' activity, when undertaken by adults, produced sketches of some long-gone buildings in the Canongate, the reminiscence workshops were designed exclusively to produce historical 'snapshots' of life in the Canongate from a previous era.

Rather than directing the Canongate Project into a historically-orientated passivism, the above-listed events served to inform contemporary discussions on community activism, particularly in relation to national trends in city development, as discussed in Chapter 2. The talks held in the St. Mary's Street shop focussed on larger topics such as 'local people leading', 'community land partnerships' and architectural design in service of community needs, featuring presentations by local organisations such as SOOT, the Cockburn Association and Edinburgh World Heritage Trust. Two full-day programmes addressed Edinburgh-specific community planning initiatives and encouraged networking and sharing amongst activists: Common Good Day and Edinburgh At Risk Day.

As a whole, the events of the Canongate Project served to provide opportunities for community interaction and engagement with local planning issues, encouraging residents to adopt an orientation of belonging to the Canongate and characterising that neighbourhood as a historically significant territory populated by a long-term residential community. The advertisement of these events to the larger public of Edinburgh, usually through existing contacts with other community groups, architects and heritage organisations, but sometimes through local press such as *The Herald and Post*, reflected the project organisers' desires to publicly revision the Canongate in response to the many negative characterisations of the area made by Caltongate supporters. These extensions of campaigners' previous efforts to reterritorialise the Canongate, in public perception as well as community life, did not rely solely upon current residents nor campaigners to represent the Canongate. For the reminiscence workshops, Canongate Project participants invited former residents to reconstruct the historical Canongate through autobiographical reflection, thereby establishing links of continuity between current and previous residential populations.

For a short-term project intended to encourage the development of community spirit and foster collective imaginings of the future, the group's decision to include a reminiscence project may seem curious. Given the Canongate's rather shaky ground as a community (see Chapter 3), I suggest that the group's interest in revealing and discussing the memories of past inhabitants reflected some of their own comparatively short-term roots in the Canongate and desires to ground their own present-day constructions of community in evidences of the past communities of the neighbourhood. Familiarity with other neighbourhood groups which had carried out reminiscence projects and printed a selection of the collected memories in a pamphlet or booklet for public perusal encouraged the programme organisers to view such projects as means of

conserving special mementos of the past and providing some public representation of past residents in the present-day community (see Dumbiedykes Writers Group 1999). The reminiscence workshops helped connect the Canongate Project and its volunteers to an imagined 'long-term community' of the Canongate, represented and affirmed by former residents who could advance the almost irrefutable claim of 'being there' in support of their idealised reconstructions of community life in the Canongate's past.

The work of memory

In performing the 'work of memory' (Cole 1998: 628), rituals have been shown to take a central role in the production of particular remembrances (Connerton 1989; Sharp 1995; Stoller 1995). Building from Maurice Bloch's suggestion that any given narrative about the past does not represent the fullness of what is remembered about the past by an individual or collective (1993), Jennifer Cole has argued that the activity of remembering serves to 'mediate the precise ways the... past impacts the... present' (1998: 628). Although her concern focuses on the remembrance of the colonial past amongst the Betsimisaraka of Madagascar, Cole's insight as to the nature of remembering as an activity invested in the interpretation and performance of social life helps to illuminate the salience of the Canongate Project's reminiscence workshops to the larger reterritorialisation programme pursued by resident campaigners.

In their mediations of the various images and discourses of the Canongate's past, the reminiscence workshops represented rituals of remembering through which participants reconstructed the Canongate as a special and distinct locality. The understood 'rules' of reminiscence sessions dictated that participants direct their attention to the remarkable and the enjoyable, memorialising practices or places which have disappeared and recounting amusing

anecdotes, but eliding depressed or distressing events and practices. Such expectations were implied by the reminiscence prompt, through which these sessions were advertised in the *Herald and Post*:

The memories and experiences of people testify to the special significance of the Canongate. Every week...we will be leading a group reminiscence workshop at 8 St. Mary's Street. If you have spent time in the Canongate at some point in your life and think you may have a memory or three to share with us, we'd like to invite you to join us for a chat and a cup of tea.

Orientating the reminiscence sessions was the idea that the Canongate has some 'special significance', and the framing of the workshops themselves as 'a chat and a cup of tea' suggested pleasant neighbourly sociality and entertainment. These workshops, so advertised, did not encourage the dispassionate recall of a historical inventory nor the critical reconstruction of a neighbourhood in dire straits. From the outset, the special character of the Canongate was represented as the occasion for remembrance, and personal memories attesting to the positively valenced distinctiveness of this locality were indirectly requested.

The memories discussed below should be regarded within the context in which they were summoned, a particular orientation to the Canongate as a place and to individuals' personal memories as a kind of evidence. As a ritual of remembering, the reminiscence workshops did not however dictate specific characterisations of the Canongate as a place; the identifying qualities of the Canongate were subject to the self-guided interpretation of the workshop participants, an activity which, as John Eidson has noted, often directs reminiscence sessions down different paths than the facilitators anticipate (2005: 557). In the sections below, reminiscence participants' identification of these qualities, which emerged as recurrent themes in

the representation of the Canongate, are engaged as contributing resources to the campaigners' reterritorialisation and revisioning of the Canongate.



Reminiscence workshop, St. Mary's Street (Author's photo 2008)

The reminiscence project

The activity of reminiscing brought elderly residents and former residents into the project's designated space and encouraged interaction between the reminiscers and the campaigners. It furthermore served to provide the campaigners with images and ideas of the Canongate that, while specific to the experiences of the reminiscers, affirmed and illustrated the primary values and objectives of the campaigners' community-focussed efforts. The

representations of life in the Canongate produced through the reminiscence sessions emphasised a long-standing ‘community spirit’ among residents and affirmed the historical and social significance of the area’s built environment through reference to particular places. The built environment labelled ‘derelict’ and ‘dingy’ by Caltongate supporters was re-framed as nostalgic and essentially local, reflecting an embodied, practical aesthetic at variance with the aesthetic tastes embedded in the Caltongate masterplan (cf. Bourdieu 1984). Although the leaders and most other participants in the campaign to halt Caltongate did not actively participate in the reminiscence sessions, which were co-led by Margaret and myself, many of them read the transcripts, or selected excerpts, of these sessions, in addition to their own personal interactions with the reminiscers in the St. Mary’s Street space. The characterisations of the Canongate’s community and built heritage which emerged in these sessions thereby found their way into the campaigners’ conversations and influenced their own conceptualisations of the Canongate, as well as subsequent efforts to mobilise, protect and strengthen the surrounding community and its built environment. In this section I introduce the reminiscence component of the Canongate Project, and in the subsequent section I present some of the major themes which emerged in these retellings of life in the Canongate.

Reminiscing about life in the Canongate took the form of autobiographical narratives constructed by residents and former residents who participated in reminiscence sessions organised by current Canongate residents as part of the Canongate Project. Advertisements were posted in the local publication *The Herald and Post* promoting weekly ‘reminiscence workshops’ in which volunteers who recognised the ‘special significance of the Canongate’ could stop by the St. Mary’s Street shop for a ‘chat and a cup of tea’. The original vision involved bringing several heretofore unacquainted participants together to share their memories of life in the

Canongate, but the short duration of the project (six weeks), combined with the difficulties of publicising the workshops to the appropriate demographic (mostly elderly men and women willing and able to transport themselves to the St. Mary's Street shop on a Tuesday afternoon) reshaped the reminiscence project such that reminiscences were more frequently conducted with individuals or small groups of friends.

As a reminiscence session co-facilitator, with Margaret as my partner, our first task required us to find people interested in reminiscing about life in the Canongate. Our initial strategy, waiting in the shop at a pre-arranged time (posted in the Canongate Project publicity materials) for interested persons to arrive, proved too passive. The first day brought Margot, with lovely stories and rapid speech which had a knack for turning into undecipherable strings of vowels on tape, even in the ears of my Scottish 'interpreter' Margaret. The second day also brought Margot, and so did the third. Margaret and I soon realized that we were going to need to proactively seek those people unable or unlikely to venture into our shop space.

Through a combination of visits to the Whitefoord House veteran's home, the Braidwood Centre in Dumbiedykes, the Canongate Kirk, and a few private flats, as well as posting some advertisement for events like 'A hot soup lunch, homemade bread and reminiscences', in addition to our regular reminiscence sessions in the St. Mary's Street shop, Margaret and I managed to meet with a variety of residents and former residents who had spent their childhoods in the Canongate, from the 1940s-1950s. Margaret's knowledge of the local closes, schools, colloquialisms and customs proved invaluable as a foil to my occasionally helpful utter ignorance of life in the mid-twentieth century Canongate.

When we conducted our sessions in the shop itself, the conversations were almost inevitably dropped in on by the campaign supporter who was minding the shop that day. These interruptions often greatly annoyed Margaret, who would roll her eyes at me, but a few times new connections were made between people in our reminiscence group and current residents, over shared acquaintances or mutual fondness for a certain close or a shop which had long since closed. The reminiscences were primarily shared amongst the protest group in transcript form, although funny or unusual stories were often passed by word-of-mouth. When I visited Edinburgh again in 2010, I learned that Margaret had conducted four more reminiscence sessions, and that the group was making arrangements for the transcripts' permanent housing at the Scottish Storytelling Centre at the top of the Canongate, where they could be accessed by the public.

Remembering the Canongate

The memories and experiences of people testify to the special significance of the Canongate... The information gathered [by the reminiscence sessions] provides a valuable and rich source of local and social history of the Canongate and its surrounding neighbourhoods. (Canongate Community Forum 2008: 21)

The men and women who participated in the reminiscence sessions for the Canongate Project did not attempt, individually or through group conversations, to produce a 'warts and all' reconstruction of the Canongate from their own experiences. Instead, the reminiscence sessions produced individuals' recountings of the 'something special' that distinguished their memories of the Canongate from memories of life elsewhere. Although material deprivation underwrites most of those Canongate memories, mention of the class divisions, envies or resentments which have been documented for instance in Roberts' *The Classic Slum* (1990) is almost entirely

absent. Rather than portraying an actual instance of an idyllic community of poverty in the Canongate, the reminiscences must be understood from the reminiscers' vantage points of having 'moved on' from the 'slum' life of the Canongate; none of the participants currently live in conditions of poverty comparable to their childhoods in the Canongate, and several men and women have achieved an upward class mobility which situates them somewhere amongst the middle classes. The desires implicit in the reminiscers' tales of impoverished youth have therefore been attended to in various forms in the intervening years, leaving the activity of reminiscing on life in the Canongate free to focus on relationships, unique experiences, wonder and a general sense of appreciation.

Community spirit

The Canongate shared the Old Town's general characterisation as a 'slum' from the mid-nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 1. Even then, however, the Canongate housed a mix of residents, including but not limited to teachers, manufacturers, bricklayers, surgeons, haberdashers and milliners. While such residents obtained modest incomes and some lived in relatively spacious dwellings at the named residences or 'big houses' of the Canongate, such as Haddington House and Queensberry House, an early- to mid-nineteenth century influx of Irish and Highland immigrants aggravated local tendencies toward poverty, overcrowding and disease (Dennison 2005: 142-7). By the end of the nineteenth century, following a steady drift of the professional classes from the area, the majority of the Canongate's residents could be called 'poor', and the rest of the population was considered solidly working-class (Dennison 2005: 153-5).

The reminiscence participants represented themselves and their childhood families as ‘poor’ and almost universally described the Canongate at that time as a ‘slum’, sometimes emphasising a particular area or street block (such as Blackfriars) as a ‘*real* slum’. Although this differentiation indicates an implicit awareness of social, economic and religious hierarchies, as the poorer residents of Blackfriars belonged to large Catholic families, the emphasis by reminiscers (who hailed from both Protestant and Catholic backgrounds) focussed on community solidarity and community spirit.²⁴ Such ‘community spirit’ was variously characterised by former residents as an interventionist interest in the affairs of neighbours, a collectively enforced discipline of unruly locals and a general ‘nosiness’.

Egalitarian tenement life

It was quite a community spirit. Nobody had any more than anybody else. And maybe say, if your dad was off work or somethin’, and your mother would open the door ... [T]here would be a box of mess, and nobody knew where it came from, in the stair. Some eggs, milk, sugar... [W]hen it come to that, hard times like that, you know? They were there. You didn’t even need to ask. They [neighbours]’d go, ‘Her man’s out of work, and she’s got six bairns here.’

Margot

Margot links the ‘community spirit’ of the Canongate to a popular egalitarian myth of tenement life: ‘nobody had any more than anybody else’. Of course social hierarchies were maintained in the Canongate as elsewhere, and they characterised tenement life throughout Edinburgh, albeit to a lesser degree than in detached house subdivisions (see Chapter 1). The association of the Canongate with egalitarian community life performed in tenement flats, stairs

²⁴ Reflecting on his memories of children’s activities in the area, participant Hughie recalled, ‘[T]hat was the Canongate... nae religion barrier; anybody could join in anythin’.’

and gardens represents a significant aspect of its ‘special character’ as reconstructed in the reminiscence sessions, and this characterisation served the campaigners in distinguishing the Canongate’s ethos from dwelling practices served by the implementation of the Caltongate masterplan.²⁵ This egalitarian theme emerged in other reminiscence sessions as well, such as the following excerpt from a meeting with five members of the Canongate Kirk who had grown up in the neighbourhood as children.

Elaine: As I say, there was poverty, but nobody was aware of the poverty.

Dinah: No, because everybody was the same.

Helen: ...It was wasna poverty like they’re trying to make it now, but it was fun and everybody was—I mean, there was poorer than us, definitely poorer than us, and we were kept clean and tidy.

The session with the kirk group was full of laughter, constant mutual interruptions and enthusiastic collective remembrances of poverty presented as amusing novelties, implicitly contrasted with the present-day practices of the reminiscers. Elaine and Dinah, above, present the egalitarian theme noted by Margot, but Helen suggests that some awareness of social and economic distinctions had persisted in the children’s memories. David, below, casts his own childhood yearnings for a ‘play piece’ (a bit of food to eat at recess) within the comical self-pitying of a young boy, distanced from his current, self-consciously better-informed, perspective:

Some people used to even get somethin’ to spend in the shop, goin’ to school. You used to be right envious of the people who used to be able to go and get somethin’, you know? I remember, ‘Please, can I get a play piece?’ You know, for playtime? Just a sandwich or a biscuit, during the playtime, cause everybody else always seemed to have one. I always thought I was the only one that didn’t— obviously I wasn’t.

²⁵ Housing in the Canongate and its surrounding area continues to consist almost exclusively in tenement flats. In 2001, 95% of all dwellings in the Holyrood Ward (inclusive of the Canongate) were listed as ‘flats/tenement’, compared to 60.1% in Edinburgh as a whole (City of Edinburgh Council 2001).

The above comments by Helen and David represent rare admissions of social and economic stratification, and these acknowledgments are framed almost apologetically. Helen notes that she and her siblings were ‘always kept clean and tidy’, despite the family’s poverty, and David suggests that his childhood envies reflected a personal naïveté rather than an accurate assessment of his classmates. Such admissions represent exceptions to the rhetoric of equality within the community which emerged in the reminiscence sessions, and they did not deter the reminiscers from associating this egalitarian community with the Canongate. Through distanced, humorous recountings of life in poverty in the Canongate, the Canongate Kirk members, for instance, maintained that the ‘community’ of the Canongate had offered them special experiences of childhood and in fact continued to draw them back to the area today, despite the reminiscers having moved to other Edinburgh locations such as the Southside and Corstorphine.

Margaret: So, all your mums and dads lived in the Canongate? So, how did you leave and come back? Did you get married, leave and come back?

Dinah: We were always in the [girls’] club.

Elaine: We were always in the church. And then I—well, we all got married, roughly about the same time...

Margaret: Have you got a house in the Canongate as well?

Elaine: No I don’t.

Dinah: No, we haven’t. We just socialise in the Canongate all the time. We’re just here all the time!

Sarah: I moved to Tollcross just when I got married, and now we stay at Corstorphine, but we still come back here.

Elaine: We had a break of a few years, when you were away, and I was first married—

Margaret: So this place draws you back—

Elaine: Oh, och yeah!

Dinah: The community does. And all the—our club, we’re probably the youngest ones in the club... Gladys and Mabel and that, they’re in their 80s. And our club exists from nearly 60 up to 80-odd. And they were friends probably with our mothers, because they can tell us things about our mothers that we didn’t ken, or—ken, some things you just saw your mother differently, and you start to see your mother as a person. Cause you see your mother as your mother, but I used to go... dancin’ with Gladys and Alice, two sisters. And then they’d say, ‘Oh I mind your mother, this was her favourite dance,’ or ‘I

mind your mother, she was good at this' or 'she used to always sing that song when she was oot'. And there was bits of my mother—

Margaret: That's nice to hear.

Dinah: —that her friends would know about her that I wouldn't know about her, because I would have just seen her as my mother, you know.

Elaine: But on a Wednesday night, from the minute you go into that club, its—

Dinah: —We carry on; we have a laugh and we carry on.

The experiences of the kirk group affirm the campaigners' assertions that a community still thrives in the Canongate, maintaining continuous links between the generations of parents and children and thereby sustaining a long-term community through contemporary institutions such as the church and personal relationships between childhood friends. Despite implicit acknowledgments of some social and economic hierarchies, these reminiscence participants primarily emphasised the egalitarian nature of the Canongate community of their childhood, which was expressed in shared poverty and performed in and amongst the physical structures of the tenements.

Wildness and discipline

It was really quite wild through here, but I never noticed too much.

Margot

Reminiscence accounts of childhood in the Canongate often recalled the area as somewhat 'wild' and lacking in formal legal discipline, despite the noted presence of beat policemen. Fondly remembered evidence of the unruly nature of the neighbourhood included the regular occurrence of evening fights breaking out amongst local men outside the pubs and the activities of young area gangs. Former residents who had moved to the area as adults in the 1960s and 1970s highlighted alcohol-related activities, such as the gathering of men to drink

cider while sitting along the sidewalks and subsequent flurries of drunken antics along the street in the half-hour after the closing of the pubs. Such events were framed primarily as promoting the *appearance* of danger in the perceptions of ‘outsiders’, who would interpret the ‘slum’ aesthetic as indicative of particular, threatening codes of practice, or a Bourdeusian habitus, amongst its inhabitants (Bourdieu 1984). Reminiscence participants, however, consistently emphasised the ‘safe’ character of the Canongate streets, and one reminiscer relayed tales of the informal discipline of anti-social behaviour from community members. The Canongate was thus represented as an *apparently* ‘wild’ place, the true nature of which can only be understood from within the experiences of community life.

Sarah: It was a safe place, but—

David: The Canongate was never a dangerous place in that time, was it?

Sarah, Elaine, Dinah and Helen all chime in: No, no. Not that I remember.

Elaine: Outsiders often used to think—

Dinah: I suppose from history they would think that, eh?

Elaine: Outsiders did. Because I often heard that quite a lot, you know, that people’d say, ‘Ooh, the Canongate’, but when they actually came down and came to yer house an’ that, [there was] nothin’ wrong with the Canongate. But it was just that vision they had, just as Dinah was sayin’, they would obviously think right back to its history—

Dinah: Well, they were slums—

Helen: They were cleared out—

Sarah: But mind you, when we were bein’ brought up, there was none of us—there wasn’t wealth in the Canongate... at that time.

The above collective consideration of the safety of the Canongate during their childhoods prompted the members of the Canongate Kirk group to draw a distinction between themselves as residents of the Canongate and ‘outsiders’, whose expectations of the Canongate had been coloured by its ‘history’ as a slum marked by poverty and assumptions of lawlessness as well as a ‘vision’ of the Canongate which associated its built forms and inhabitants with ‘dangerous’ behaviour. Further reflection on the possible unfairness of this representation brought David to

remind his friends of the prevalence of fighting in their neighbourhood and their perception at the time of its status as harmless local entertainment:

David: Well [there] was the pub called the Blue Blanket. That was—I say [the Canongate] wasn't a dangerous place—every Saturday night at 10 past 10, you could sit and look out the window and—

Sarah: Watch a fight! [All the women say some variation of this and start laughing.]

David: —there'd be men fighting. They'd be friends the next day, but that was true, eh?

Helen: As you say, there was fightin', but not like you see fights now.

David: In fact, you know—it's the truth—I can recall my mum takin' me to the window to watch—to watch the fights!

Helen: [E]ven my Uncle Dan and my Uncle Willie when they came out of the Tollbooth—I was only about 14, 15—I remember leanin' out the window watchin', because the pavement cut away, and they'd had a few pints by 10 o'clock, and obviously got a bit drunk, and I used to race down the stairs with my dad, he would step off the pavement, and I used to think he was going flat on his face. And I would get down the stairs, and make sure they got to the stair door.

By contrast to David and Helen's experiences, the pub fights were treated as moral, if not physical, threats, by the parents of sisters Anne and Kathleen, as well as Margot. Margot was restricted from looking out their family window, located across the street from the Blue Blanket, after 7pm on Saturday nights, as were Anne and Kathleen, who lived near P.J.'s Pub. Watching the fights was framed as an illicit entertainment by all commenting reminiscers.

Kathleen: I remember the fights [at P.J.'s Pub]; we were never allowed to look out the windows.

Anne: Aye, we used to [sit on cushions]. Sometimes we'd go to Mrs. Jarvie's across the landin', and put cushions on the windowsill—that was your entertainment.

Kathleen: Oh, aye.

Margaret: But that was the thing as well; everybody looked out their windows.

Anne: Well then, I mean there was ambulances comin' and the police vans comin'.

Kathleen: We were told, 'Don't look out! They're bad men!'

While Anne suggested some danger to the men involved, with the arrival of ambulances and police vans, Margot like David above emphasised the controlled nature of these fights and their incorporation within community relationships, sealed by the sharing of a pint:

There was always fights outside the pub... Two men outside took their jackets off; somebody held their jackets and they'd a couple of punches. They went and had the first punch, but then they went in and bought each other a pint.

Not all violence could be so contained, however, and Margot elaborated upon the imposition of discipline from within the community itself, to correct behaviour widely regarded as anti-social, such as a husband's beating of his wife. She animatedly shared two tales of men who, upon beating their wives in the street, were caught and disciplined in public by members of the community. In the first story, a local priest named Father Gallagher knocked the abusive husband to the ground outside the Blue Blanket pub ('Roomp! Wallop!'), took the bruised wife to the church for a cup of tea, and 'made sure she locked him out that night'. In the second tale, Margot's own mother leapt upon the back of the drunken and violent husband, caught him in a fierce grip about the throat and sent Margot to bring the beat policeman who, most amused by the scene, locked the frightened man up for the night.

The potential threats of violence from within the Canongate neighbourhood therefore were situated by reminiscers as contained by community practices. These threats were distinguished from the practices of children's neighbourhood gangs, which were framed as innocent, if mischievous, rivalries expressed primarily in the collection of wood for bonfire nights and the ongoing stealing of bicycles and small possessions between gang members. In these ways the Canongate's 'wildness' was represented as a misunderstood characteristic more genuinely reflective of the area's distinctive community and social practices.

Nosiness and neighbours

One participant affectionately summed up the Canongotian ethos as ‘nosiness’ and contrasted it to the pattern of neighbourhood life she experienced outside the city centre. Having grown up in the Canongate, when Morag married, she and her husband lived for twelve years in social housing in Dumbiedykes, where they began to raise two daughters. When the children were approaching adolescence, their family was moved to a larger house (Morag did not explain why) in another social housing scheme outside of town. Reflecting upon that move, she enthused about the size and newness of her ‘country’ house, noting that at the time she lacked the furniture to fill her new three-bedroom abode. After a chuckle at her initial excitement, she confided, ‘I think at heart we were still townies’. She explained what their newly transitioned family missed about their life in Dumbiedykes and the Canongate:

Ye didnae have the same closeness, out there, because when ye were in the town, ye were right close-knit with all the neighbours. One ran out of somethin’, ye went to their door and vice versa—ye know, helped each other. Ye knew everythin’ that was goin’ on.

This characterisation of neighbours in the Canongate helping each other recalls Margot’s memories above. Not only did Margot associate this helping relationship with the Canongate’s special community spirit, but she further associated the community interactions enabled by the Canongate Project’s St. Mary’s Street shop space with ‘nosiness’ in the abbreviated version, below, of the quote which opened this chapter:

This community group here! This here-- to me, it’s a real start!... Here’s the shop; people can look in the window here and see somethin’s goin’ on. It’s just the nosiness, you see, ‘Here you go, look in and see what’s in.’ And here you’ve got the pictures up and everything; it’s great! I think it’s really a great idea—really, I think it’s great!

Knowing ‘everything that’s going on’, in Morag’s words, or looking in a neighbourhood window to ‘see what’s in’, as Margot described, was represented by these reminiscence participants as supporting the community spirit so distinctively characteristic of life in the Canongate.

Childhood memories of watching fights break out at the Blue Blanket pub, recalled by David, Margot and others, further testified to this ‘nosiness’ that facilitated community involvement and combated the relative anomie experienced by Morag and her family in the suburban housing scheme. Attribution of such community spirit to the Canongate, almost universal amongst the former residents, was supported by the observations of several reminiscence participants who had observed the Canongate as outsiders in the 1940s and 1950s and only subsequently moved to area, as adults.

Jean, today a resident in Chessels Court, had attended Edinburgh University in the 1940s. She stressed that the Canongate was a slum in ‘really dire circumstances’ at that time, such that if she had known she would move back to the area to ‘live out [her] life’ there, it would have ‘depressed’ her. She paused then and added, ‘But, there has always been a tight community here. That has always been the case with the Canongate; there continues to be a strong community feel to the place.’ Affirming this characterisation, Janet, the mother of campaign leader Julie, contrasted the Canongate of the 1950s, when her father had been a doctor in Lawnmarket, with the rest of the Royal Mile (High Street):

...[A]s you came further down the High Street [into the Canongate], it became much more about it being a place where people lived, with dogs and cats in the streets and kids in the streets and food shops and people doing their shopping. That’s what I remember from my childhood. And that instilled a great desire in me for the way I wanted to live when I was growing up, t’was in the Royal Mile. That was my heart’s desire.

These reflections on the Canongate's community in the 1940s and 1950s strongly influenced the present-day contributors to the Canongate Project (and former campaign leaders), who picked up the theme of a special solidarity characterising communal relations in the Canongate. This theme, often expressed in an aesthetic of everyday or 'normal' routines, such as the scene described above, featured centrally in my conversations with the former campaign leaders in 2010. In summarising what would be lost in the again-possible event of area redevelopment, Catriona brought up her gran's stories of life in the Canongate as evidence of the area's special character. In these stories, she stressed, the Canongate was a place where 'we were all in it together'. A particularly illustrative incident which she recalled occurred when her grandparents heard a woman being abused by her husband in a flat on their stair. Catriona's gran took food up to her, and her granddad 'kept an eye out' for the husband going to the pub, when he let the woman know she could leave for her mum's house. The worst thing about Caltongate-style redevelopment, Cat lamented, would be the memories lost.

In another 2010 meeting, Julie invoked community solidarity amongst the contemporary Canongate residents to explain the widespread knowledge of local history in the neighbourhood. Personal memories as well as the area's histories were shared between neighbours, she asserted; this door-to-door oral history sharing had been a major contributor to Julie's own knowledge of the Canongate. For this reason, Julie and the others were hoping to place the reminiscence tapes and transcripts with the Scottish Storytelling Centre, so that they might be accessed by the local residents and further nurture the sense of community which the campaign leaders and project participants believed and argued to be characteristic of the Canongate.

The Canongate, therefore, was represented in the reminiscences as a slum with a ‘community spirit’, and this characterisation supported the assertions made by CCF campaigners that the modern-day Canongate housed a long-term residential community. Although the memories of Canongate life in the 1940s and 1950s did not address the question of such a community in the present day, they provided campaigners with evidence of the area’s historical significance, as a distinct area with a unique communal solidarity, and helped them to position themselves as the contemporary caretakers of this historic community spirit. This positioning is further pursued through the subsequent founding of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, discussed in the following chapter.

In their nostalgic glossing over of the more dire aspects of life in the slums, reminiscence participants accomplished a re-imagining of the history of the Canongate, creating an idealised past that afforded material for critical commentary of contemporary events and recent transformations. Rather than representing such reconstructions of the past as encouraging a backwards-looking escapism, William Bissell has suggested that the nostalgia underwriting them may be considered part of the ‘diacritics of modernity’, such that it serves as a means of ‘critically engaging the present,’ particularly during periods of rapid change (Bissell 2008: 216). In his study of Zanzibar, the invocation of nostalgic discourses serves not to locate the ideal present in a romanticised colonial past, but to comment upon recent changes and create contemporary collective identities.

Although nostalgia is fuelled by a sense of modernity as rupture, hard-edged and historically discontinuous, collective remembrance typically emerges out of efforts to forge a shared (if illusory) sense of group identity, cohesion, and long-term continuities. (Bissell 2008: 226)

Memories of the community spirit which united the varied residents of the Canongate, despite obliquely referenced social divisions, were linked by the reminiscers to critiques of the area's present-day state. As is shown below, changes in the built forms of the Canongate, rather than commentaries upon the community itself, were utilised to index the transformations experienced by the area over the past thirty years, which were framed by reminiscers as undesirable and characterised by a sense of loss. These critiques, as well as the idealised reconstructions of the past, fit closely with campaigners' perspectives on the Canongate and served to further affirm their responses to the Caltongate proposal and subsequent community-building efforts. This congruence was fortuitous for the campaigners and belied the fact that the Caltongate proposal itself was often unknown by the reminiscers, having been introduced and explained by Margaret in most sessions. The reminiscers' idealised descriptions of the Canongate were essentially conservative, but as the following chapter elucidates, these ideals inform and inspire new imaginings of life in the Canongate which seek to achieve continuity with the characterisations of community spirit presented above.

Special places of the Canongate

In their reconstructions of life in the Canongate, reminiscers relied upon the built environment to represent continuity between past and present. Such continuity was generally framed as desirable, with exceptions noted for obvious inconveniences like the 'outdoor toilet'. The theme of 'special places' emerged through the reminiscence stories, as a means of organising the participants' memories as well as a category through which participants distinguished the Canongate and its special character from other places in Edinburgh. The special places described by reminiscers ranged from the hidden gardens, closes, tenements (and

shared stairs), to the shops, cinema, dance halls and the street itself, in which community life was performed. The vulnerability of these places to contemporary trends in development featured as a prevalent theme, with reflection on these special places often transitioning into lament upon the places lost. While awareness of the buildings proposed for demolition in the Caltongate masterplan varied widely between reminiscers, and most participants could not identify the endangered Canongate Venture at all, the general privileging of the built forms of the Canongate as constitutive of the community's heritage found resonance with the campaigners, who would elaborate this theme in the mission statement of the subsequently formed Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust.

These built forms, particularly the tenements, closes and hidden gardens which together form the constitutive architecture of the Canongate, represent a strikingly different materiality from the sleek shapes drawn in Caltongate masterplan. The cliffs of heavy sandstone bricks punctuated by small windows and interrupted briefly by narrow closes and small green gardens form the built fabric in which the special places identified by the reminiscers below are embedded. Special places such as the hidden gardens are especially dependent upon the retaining of the narrow tenement-and-close pattern, and therefore it may be noted that the very aesthetic derided as 'dingy', which the proponents of Caltongate desired to transform, represents an integral aspect of the identity of the Canongate as constructed through the reminiscence sessions.

The special places below were presented by reminiscers as the built forms and spaces of the Canongate, the significance of which was derived from involvement in the everyday life of the community, rather than official designations by heritage or municipal organisations. Such

conceptualisations of the Canongate's special places were therefore inextricably linked to its community spirit or localised ethos, as described above. The significance of the built forms and spaces of the Canongate reflected the life of the local community, which though not insensitive to wider valuations of the area's historic worth did not depend upon these estimations entirely, as Margot's statement below rendered explicit. When asked where she might take a visiting friend in Edinburgh, Margot exclaimed:

I'll tell you one thing. I'd not just go, 'Oh, look at the castle. Och, the castle! Let's go to Holyrood House.' They're just—they're just landmarks, more than anything else. I know they're old, but to me, oh, there's other places I'd take them. There's closes... closes like that [she points]—that's the kind of places I take them. And there's so many hidden gardens, in the closes up here, and even further up the high street. There'd be some people that's lived here and didn't know they were there.

Margot explained further the significance of the 'hidden gardens' or back greens, through her own memories, which highlighted their role in a special coming-together of young women in the neighbourhood.

We had back green concerts, and we had them in the back court. Only lassies; boys weren't allowed. We put a wee screen up, so we could get dressed. I don't know [his name], but he was a great guitar player. He'd play the guitar and sing. It would be a ... night; there'd be dancing. We'd dance, and everyone danced, and my mum said to me, 'Don't do that one again,' because I showed my leg under my skirt.

Such events distinguished the hidden gardens as special places for Margot, as well as other reminiscence participants, but these gardens also featured prominently in the everyday life of the residents, serving as backdrop for the most mundane chores and interactions of social and economic life. Laundry was hung out to dry, mothers chatted to each other, siblings and friends played, and neighbours shared infrequent bits of leisure time together. Some informal trade and

production activities occurred here, and in one corner, distant as possible from the balconies of family residences, the building's outdoor toilet would be situated.

The combination of public community life privated away from the street, with refreshing patches of green grass and leaves in an otherwise sandstone-clad city centre, made the back greens seem like special places in the memories of Margot, Anne and Kathleen and members of the Canongate Kirk group. The popular use of the phrase 'hidden garden' as a synonym for 'back green' by residents young and old alludes to a sense of privileged discovery experienced upon entering one. Not only residents and former residents have singled out the hidden gardens as local treasures, however; campaign supporter Bern reflected that the architectural project she would most like to take on through her practice would be the restoration of these gardens, which would culminate in inviting to public to discover and enjoy them. The hidden gardens also served as creative spaces in which projects for the SOOT campaign were undertaken, featured as the subject of guided walks organised for the Canongate Project, and would eventually receive focussed attention from the Patrick Geddes Gardening Club, through the efforts of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust.

While the back greens represented a kind of community space in the memories of Margot, as well as the contemporary assessments of campaigners like Bern, however, these communal associations were not limited to such 'ordinary' spaces of the Canongate. Another reminiscence participant, Morag, offered from her own experience stories of engaging the officially recognised 'landmark' structures in a similar manner:

We used to go and play in Holyrood Palace... [T]here was no charge or anythin' in these days. Anybody could come in. And they had what you'd call a 'parkie', and we used to run up and down the secret staircase that Mary Queen o' Scots' lover used to use to come up to her bedchamber. You know? And we used to run up and down there, and then somebody'd say, 'Here's the park keeper!' You just took to your heels and ran, you know? We had so many happy days then, there in Holyrood Park.

Morag's memory refused the distancing between Canongate residents and the nationally recognised historic buildings which relegated the latter in Margot's estimation to the indifferent status of 'just landmarks'. For Morag, childplay with her friends in the Palace of Holyroodhouse allowed a formidable and nationally recognised structure to be engaged in a personal, intimate way; it brought a distant and lofty symbol of the nation and its elites down to the ground on which ordinary life is lived. In Morag's memory, the community space of the Canongate expanded to incorporate a royal palace, and the heritage of Holyrood was transformed from an official designation to a lived aspect of community life. Although these play practices did not feature in the memories of other workshop participants, Margot and Morag's reminiscing indicated that while residents may attribute special status to the intimate spaces of community life established through everyday practices, even officially 'off-limits' places in the built environment may be incorporated into a sense of community identity. These practices, whether performed in the back greens behind the street-facing tenements or the hidden passages of Holyroodhouse, have enabled residents to enfold particular places and material forms into a continuously formed and reformed sense of the Canongate as a local community. The places themselves may thus participate in residents' identifications of locally specific ethical practices, comprising an ethos of dwelling as described by Deleuze and Guattari above (1987).

Transformation and loss

In the intervening years between the time reconstructed through the reminiscence sessions, the 1940s and 1950s, and the present day, the Canongate was almost universally represented as having endured a host of negative transformations. The result of such events is the present-day Canongate, where not only are listed buildings threatened with demolition, but the prized community spirit has been compromised by the loss of local amenities such as needs-based shops, which have been replaced largely by so-called ‘tartan tat’ shops dedicated to low-end tourism. These trends have been compounded by the encroaching privatisation of council housing, which has repurposed much of the local family housing stock for one- and two-bedroom holiday flats. Contemporary threats of building demolition, such as those represented by the Caltongate masterplan, were thus framed by reminiscers as continuations of a long process of loss, rather than indicating a distinctive break from the practices of recent years.

Without exception, every participant in a reminiscence session mourned the disappearance of shops in which they had conducted their needs-based purchasing, or rather the replacement of these shops by present occupants who aim instead to provide services and/or goods primarily for tourists. The shops represented to reminiscence participants as well as current residents some of the most important lost resources of the Canongate. The souvenir shops which have replaced them were often derided by reminiscence participants by the moniker, ‘tartan tat’. This widely used phrase appears in a 2007 political cartoon that implies its direct connection to Caltongate (Boyle 2007).²⁶

²⁶ The cartoon was given by artist Frank Boyle to the protest group, to use as they saw fit. They subsequently posted it to their website, www.eh8.org.uk.



Boyle 2007, courtesy of Canongate Community Forum

The particular (missing) shops named by reminiscers included multiple fishmongers, bakers, butchers, resale shops, print shops, pawn shops, fruit and vegetable shops and chemists. Often the reminiscer would recall the name of the shop's proprietor from her childhood or earlier adulthood, as well as notable experiences in the shop and almost invariably the (previously lower) price of certain goods. The shared thread of commentary bemoaned the loss of shops designed for area residents, the effect of which today requires residents to leave the neighbourhood, a task primarily reliant upon public transportation, in order to do their needs-based shopping.²⁷ The infiltration of 'tartan tat' shops was perceived as a kind of disease that spread to the Canongate from further 'up' the Royal Mile. While the reminiscers, as well as

²⁷ In the four (2001) census output areas of the Canongate, an average of 66% of the population had no car, compared to 40% of the population of Edinburgh as a whole (Scottish Census Records Online 2001).

members of the protest group, upheld the Canongate as the last truly residential neighbourhood of the Royal Mile, they conceded that the residential quality of the street had already been compromised by the loss of 'the shops'.

This transformation was identified by Morag as the factor which prevented her from returning to the Canongate; not only had the loss of the shops changed the area too dramatically to inspire recognition, but without shops, in Morag's view the benefits of living in 'town' were forfeited. After her above-described transition from Dumbiedykes to a suburban housing estate, Morag eventually moved closer to Edinburgh's city centre, but rather than return to the Old Town, she found a flat in a neighbourhood of Leith, where she currently resides. Morag deliberately pursued a flat in Leith, she explained, because the Leith district most closely approximates the 'town' conditions in which she had flourished. The availability of 'the shops' close at hand, and the easy access to buses make Leith's town-within-a-town preferable to the present-day Canongate, which in addition to having exchanged most of its practical shops for 'touristy' ones, has changed its physical forms so much that she exclaimed, 'There's hardly anythin' I recognise'.

The transition of the Canongate's housing stock was not as universally noted amongst the reminiscers, but those participants who continued to maintain a residence in the Canongate or sustain relationships with current residents cited the sale of council housing to private landlords as a step towards introducing into the Canongate a transient population with little investment in the community. Prior to the extension of the 'right to buy' to some council tenants in the 1970s, and to many of them in the 1980s, common practice amongst council housing residents allowed families, who represented the majority of tenement tenants, to move between nearby flats within

a block or two, as their housing needs changed. These practices allowed families to maintain relationships within a limited geographical area, contributing to the sustenance of long-term geographically-based identities, such that individuals could identify themselves as ‘Canongotian’ despite having moved between multiple council houses in the neighbourhood. In the early experiments of offering council houses for sale to their tenants, Janet gained the unexpected opportunity to buy her council flat in Chessels Court in the mid-1970s.

[W]hen the right to buy happened, I was appalled by it; I was totally appalled. And probably made a bit of a mistake there, because we decided we wouldn’t go with that, you know; we thought it was so wrong to sell the council housing in the Old Town—we just thought that was a completely wrong thing to do, so we didn’t do it, but everybody else did [laughs]. I don’t know if there is any of Chessels Court that is still council.

In fact, none of the Chessels Court flats remain in the local authority, nor most of the other previously family-populated residences, such as Whitehorse Close. The introduction of the ‘right to buy’ policy accompanied the ongoing movement of many city-centre families towards new suburban housing estates, such as at Craigmillar and the Inch, and therefore the privatisation of council housing in the Canongate coincided with the transfer of many previous residents of family council flats to the suburbs, reflecting Morag’s experience above. The impacts of such a transition upon the Canongate were derided by reminiscers such as Margot, Anne and Kathleen as encouraging short-term occupants with little investment in the neighbourhood, evidence of which Kathleen noted in the ‘filthy’ windows and stairs of these properties.

In the absence of local shops for the residents and following the introduction of housing policies which have mitigated against family occupancy over the past thirty years, reminiscence participants acknowledged that the Canongate’s community had suffered. Considering the Canongate and its population today, Morag mused:

All the characters [are] away—you used to see them standin’ at the end of the close, bletherin’ away and gossipin’ and all, the wee shops and things like that. The characters have gone.

Anne and Kathleen noted that the changes in the Old Town, represented by the Canongate in particular, would prevent them from returning to that area, despite their own strong feelings for, and identification with, the place.

Christa: And do you still think of yourselves as Canongotian?

Anne and Kathleen, together: Oh aye.

Anne: Although, I would never move back into the town. It’s changed too much. Like how the Canongate’s changed—so many touristy shops.

While the Canongate Kirk members return to the Canongate for their church-related activities, this institution provides them a kind of generationally continuous community of the Canongate which is not as readily available to those outside of the church. Significantly therefore it was Margot, continuing to reside in the Canongate and seeking to cultivate a community spirit among the wider residential population, who, as the opening quote for this chapter shows, responded most enthusiastically to the campaigners’ organisation of the Canongate Project, regularly visiting the community space created for it on St. Mary’s Street. In recognition of the degradation of the Canongate’s community over recent years and with a desire to resurrect a community spirit similar to that which she remembered from her youth, Margot saw in the campaigners’ efforts to revision the Canongate a possibility of community revitalisation. As one of the few Canongate residents who could bridge the gap between previous and contemporary communities of the Canongate, Margot’s hopes for the Canongate Project most directly reflect those of the campaigners themselves, and Margot herself embodies the ‘long-term residential community’ campaigners attribute to the Canongate.

Conclusions

The CCF and SOOT members failed to revision the Canongate as a vibrant community in the perspectives of city councillors, who refused the campaigners' claims to be recognised as the community of the Canongate and consequently denied them a community-based right to participate in the planning of the Canongate's redevelopment. This failure to convince councillors of their ethical responsibility of consulting Canongate residents and therefore to effectively actualise residents' right to the city prompted former campaigners to continue to pursue the revisioning of the Canongate through the design and implementation of the Canongate Project. Despite its label as a 'community research project', organisers directed the primary activities of the Canongate Project towards the reterritorialising of the Canongate as a historically significant place associated with a distinct ethos of dwelling continuous with previous generations of residents. I have argued that these efforts at reterritorialisation are consistent with the struggling of the members of a minority to reinvent themselves in the event of accusations of their disappearance (Deleuze 2005: 209). To this end, reminiscence workshops were organised in order to help establish links of continuity between current and previous residents, grounding campaigners' depictions of the present-day community ethos in evidences of Canongate communities of the past.

As rituals of remembering, the reminiscence workshops functioned to mediate between the fullness of individuals' not-yet-organised past experiences in the Canongate and the reterritorialising intentions undergirding the Canongate Project (cf. Cole 1998: 628). In their orientation of the reminiscence workshops towards recognition of the Canongate's 'special character', the campaigners established the occasion for the particular reminiscence sessions as directed rituals of remembering. Combined with widely understood expectations about

reminiscence sessions and their interests, as well as the reminiscers' personal trajectories which had established distance between themselves and their circumstances of childhood poverty in the Canongate, the campaigners' prompt encouraged participants to emphasise positively valenced memories such as humorous anecdotes and remarkable events. The reminiscence workshops thus contributed to the larger Canongate Project as performative activities invested in the remembering and reconstituting of a particular Canongotian identity, salient to the campaigners' claims for the contemporary Canongate. The major themes which emerged in the shared memories, under these circumstances, served to affirm the campaigners' characterisations of the Canongate and provided a nostalgic point of comparison for the campaigners' critical commentaries on current development trends as represented in Caltongate.

These themes, which I have identified as community spirit, special places, and transformation and loss, influenced the campaigners who engaged the reminiscence sessions through the reading of transcripts or occasional participation in a workshop. In the following chapter, the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust is presented as an ongoing minority project of becoming made possible by the campaigners' continued efforts to reterritorialise the Canongate and practice its characteristic community ethos of historical sensitivity and community activism. This idealised ethics of dwelling, implicit in the programme of the Canongate Project, is elaborated in the EOTDT's mission statement and remains central to its expanding roster of projects. The long-term effectiveness of this new organisation at promoting community-led development over developer-led processes in the Old Town remains to be tested, but the events of the Canongate Project and the collective remembering and narratives of loss produced by the reminiscence sessions have directly shaped the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust's approach to community life and the built environment of the Old Town.

Chapter 5

The aftermath of Caltongate: Community-led strategies for development

The [Edinburgh Old Town Development] Trust was set up in 2009 in response to residents wanting a voice in the Old Town and to take positive action in creating and architecting our own developments from small pieces of action to ultimately owning our own assets.

Catriona

Through the previous chapters' portrayal of the resident-organised campaign to halt Caltongate and the subsequently-formed Canongate Project, as well as through ongoing efforts of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, presented in this chapter, the campaigners' responses to the proposal of the Caltongate masterplan are represented as efforts to reterritorialise the Canongate and affirm its distinct identity within Edinburgh. The activities of the campaigners have addressed what they perceive to be organised attempts, on the part of city councillors, architects and developers, to absorb the Canongate into a larger 'east end' identity, ushered in by the physical transformation of the area and its characteristic aesthetic. Central to these attempts, facilitated by the implementation of the Caltongate masterplan, is the eventual transplantation of the current population in favour of incoming professionals and upmarket tourists, who represent the Deleuzian majority for whom Caltongate has been designed. The campaign activities indicate residents' responses to their experience of becoming-minor in the face of Caltongate's proposal, and through these activities they have helped to cultivate a sense of community spirit in the Canongate and contributed to the collaborative re-imagining of the Canongate's future, as shown in Chapters 3 and 4. As the events of the Canongate Project

demonstrated, campaigners deliberately rooted their calls to present-day community activism in reconstructions of the history of the Canongate itself.

This chapter examines the ongoing efforts of some of the original campaigners, some newly involved residents, and additional supporters throughout the city to extend the projects undertaken through the organisations of the CCF, SOOT and the Canongate Project to the Old Town at large. I argue that for the campaigners, situating the Canongate as a place within the Old Town following previous efforts to mark its distinctive character reflects the refining of their strategies for community activism rather than a break with their previous characterisations of the Canongate. The Canongotian ethos which prioritises community activism and heritage conservation and was advocated by campaigners during the CCF/SOOT campaign and subsequent Canongate Project is shown to be adapted to the Old Town through the projects of the newly formed Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust. The organisation of the EOTDT therefore evidences not a reversal of the reterritorialisation of the Canongate nor a reinvention of its people, but an extension of campaigners' efforts to unite a particular territory and residential community through their advocacy of a local and historically rooted ethos. Through the design of specific projects aimed at facilitating the community-led development of the Old Town, EOTDT members twin their pursuit of an ethical life with efforts to claim their right to the city (cf. Baxstrom 2008). The EOTDT projects presented below reflect both the aspirations for idealised community life sought by Canongate-based campaigners and the experiences of these campaigners in seeking planning participation in the council's consideration of the Caltongate masterplan. Despite its inception more than a year after Caltongate's abandonment by Mountgrange, I show that the intentions and activities of the EOTDT, as Catriona's above quote indicates, represent a strategic attempt to claim recognition as an urban community deserving of

participation in the shaping of the spaces and forms of the city, in the face of residents' effective exclusion from the planning or consideration of Caltongate. Caltongate's extended influence upon community activism in the Old Town suggests that the masterplan has contributed significantly to the ongoing negotiation of the Old Town as a place within Edinburgh. In the final section below I consider the relationships between the Caltongate proposal and these present-day projects of becoming.

As campaigners and other observers have noted, the proposal of Caltongate motivated many local residents to mobilise and collaboratively pursue alternative futures for the Canongate, through a highly organised campaign and related projects of community activism. Maintenance of the sense of 'community spirit' recovered during the resident-organised campaign, however, requires the continuation and extension of community activities and projects even in the absence of an immediate threat like Caltongate. Despite current uncertainties regarding Caltongate's future implementation, the persistence of those deterritorialising flows of recent decades, which had produced the Canongate as a neighbourhood vulnerable to the dramatic transformation of both built environment and population, has frustrated residents and former campaigners in furthering what Bern has dubbed an ongoing 'erosion of community spirit'. As residences continue to be transformed to short-term rental properties, and family houses are divided into single-bedroom flats, the Canongate's population takes on an ever-more transient nature, with the result that many residents are not invested in the concerns of their local neighbourhood and perceive few common interests with their neighbours. While still maintaining a larger long-term population than other parts of the Old Town, due at least partially to the legacy of its twentieth-century council house-building schemes, the Canongate faces many issues of community degradation similar to other Old Town areas. Although a locally-based sense of community was

bolstered by the experience of the community-based campaign which emerged in response to Caltongate, the Canongate's residents and sympathetic advocates struggle to translate this campaign-related energy of community representation and activism into everyday projects of community life.

Among the campaign leadership, individuals have taken varying courses in their ongoing advocacy of the Canongate and Old Town. Only Sally retreated from most activities—and the Canongate itself—although she continues to participate in the representation of the area through the Old Town Community Council and meets with former campaigners on an informal basis. Catriona has taken leadership roles in the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, introduced below, through which she advocates, organises and publicises individual projects aimed at cultivating a sense of community in and communal responsibility for the Old Town at large. Julie has broken away from her two former friends and co-activists, through a personal 'falling-out' that had been brewing for many months of the intense campaign. Cat described the effects of this rupture: 'It's like the Beatles. Maybe we can get together again in the future, but we can't right now.' Julie has continued to invest heavily in local activism, particularly in causes relating to democratic representation of local communities and community art projects. Her continued use of the SOOT moniker to advertise these events over social media like Facebook frustrates Sally and Cat, who have expressed the desire that Julie retire the name until another major cause, to which the population of the Old Town should be mobilised, arises.

Other participants in the campaign and Canongate Project, such as Jim, Margaret and Bern, have variously involved themselves with the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust. Jim, who had formerly led the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust (presented below), has sought to gain a similarly influential role in the EOTDT, while Margaret continues to conduct

reminiscence sessions and remains most sensitive to potential demolitions in the Old Town (and especially Canongate). Bern's activities in the EOTDT have diminished, in the absence of an immediately threatening development, but she maintains contact with Sally and Margaret and tries to keep informed of the EOTDT's projects. Still others, like Rhiannon and Liam, have ceased attending the meetings of community organisations following the culmination of the Caltongate campaign, citing busy schedules.

Facing a diminished sense of urgency in the absence of an immediate Caltongate-style threat, but desiring to maintain the newly emergent sense of local community spirit cultivated during the campaign and to actively work to prevent future redevelopment of the area without community consultation, members of the leadership of the Caltongate campaign have created a new organisation with a distinct, yet familiar, mission, presented and discussed below. The formation of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust represents yet another adaptation of the campaigners to the changing circumstances of the Canongate, and a project of becoming which the campaigners' experience, as a Deleuzian minority engaging Caltongate and its proponents, continues to inform, as well as an emergent reterritorialisation of the Canongate which emphasises that area's unity with Edinburgh's Old Town.

Introducing the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust

Edinburgh's Old Town has been transformed over the last century from a city centre 'slum' of antiquarian interest to the city's primary tourist destination. Much of the Old Town today is characterised less by its resident population than by its colourful shops, cafés, and assorted sites of historic interest, from the imposing St. Giles' Cathedral to the '*Real* Mary King's Close', where a tour of the underground city tries to scare its visitors memorably. As one

walks along the Canongate's eponymous main artery, which continues the line of the Royal Mile east of the former Netherbow Port, the neighbourhood of tall stone tenements becomes less accessible to tourists, by contrast to the upper Royal Mile, which is tailored visually, aurally and materially to consumption via tourism. Although the upper Royal Mile does not comprise the entirety of the Old Town, much of that larger area remains orientated towards tourism, such that the major issues addressed at Old Town Community Council meetings often concern residents' and shop owners' wrangling with an overflow of tourists and strategies to attract tourists' attention (such as the playing of bagpipe music and displays of A-board signage on walkways) implemented by many shops.

Residential life throughout the Old Town therefore requires one to accommodate seasonal flows of tourists, as well as year-round traffic in stag and hen weekend party-goers, from Grassmarket to the Canongate. The relative scarcity of long-term residents in the Old Town, excepting the Canongate, has also been characterised by some persons as a source of hardship. Architect Bern once owned a flat in the Old Town, near Victoria Street, but ultimately admitted that she found it 'too hard to live there'. Frustrated with inconsistently enforced waste removal policies and the council's lack of maintenance of the closes, which consequently piled up with waste, Bern attempted to work with her neighbours to improve their shared back garden and surrounding area, despite her inability to interest the council in this project. She then discovered that the majority of her neighbours were transients and therefore little invested in the long-term fate of a particular building, close or garden. Bern felt exasperated and helpless, and reflecting in 2010 on her earlier efforts, she exclaimed, 'I can't do this if nobody's interested!' She finally sold her flat and moved from the Old Town, but around this time Bern heard about an early meeting of the CCF convened by Sally and Julie. Intrigued by the possibility of a resident-

based campaign emerging in the Old Town, Bern attended; she subsequently realised that a neighbourhood of families resided in the Canongate and were taking an active, interested role in the protest of Caltongate. Bern recalled that her conviction that these families should be supported as residents of the Old Town prompted her to get involved in the campaign, and it was through this campaign that she became an outspoken critic of the Caltongate plans themselves.

As organisations dedicated towards addressing the proposed redevelopment of the Canongate, neither the CCF nor SOOT took active roles in shaping community life in the Old Town at large. The Canongate Project was similarly focussed upon the area of the Canongate, as a project attempting its reterritorialisation, and thus the impacts of the campaigners' efforts at fostering a sense of belonging to a localised ethos were mostly limited to the Canongate. It was not until late 2008 that the first evidence emerged of the campaigners' Canongate-specific strategies influencing the organisation of community life in the neighbouring Old Town areas.

The establishment of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust was initially informed by a contact made through the Canongate Project, a woman who represented the Development Trusts Association of Scotland and facilitated two workshops on the nature and uses of such trusts. Conceived as a 'community regeneration network', the development trusts of Scotland are formed by local residents in rural, urban, mainland and island locations, to 'tackle local issues and improve the quality of life in their community' (Development Trusts Association Scotland 2011). Rather than acting as stand-alone neighbourhood organisations, development trusts utilise nation-wide networks of local community action, funding opportunities and other resources. The activities of the trusts are entirely derived from the local communities, however, the national body existing merely to facilitate the sharing of resources and strategies.

Having recently completed the Canongate Project, which ended with a heated rupture from Julie, as well as Sally's adamant retreat from community activities, Canongate residents Catriona and Jim sought opportunities to maintain the community spirit which they had been cultivating, through opportunities for local activism and resident-led development. Rather than forming an independent, isolated organisation, the potential of a development trust to provision them for community representation and future projects within a supportive national network seemed to offer a more viable long-term option, in Cat and Jim's estimation. The assignment of the development trust's territory required careful consideration, but they ultimately chose to emphasise the inclusiveness of Save Our Old Town, rather than form a neighbourhood-specific organisation such as Canongate Community Forum. Establishing the development trust's community as the entire Old Town enabled Cat and Jim to identify themselves with a renowned historic area, expand their recruiting and networking efforts, and foster continuity between the community and practices of the Canongate and the rest of the Old Town, to intended mutual benefit.

As the section below shows, identifying the development trust with the Old Town rather than the Canongate did not diminish the role of Canongate residents, places nor projects in the trust's activities. The Canongate continues to feature prominently in the agenda of the EOTDT, reflecting post-Caltongate perceptions of the area's vulnerability to developer-led regeneration strategies, as well as the widespread recognition and admiration of the Canongate residents' campaign amongst networks of Edinburgh-based activists. Identifying the trust with the Old Town has succeeded in attracting resident volunteers from outwith the Canongate, especially the Grassmarket, while Cat and Jim have pursued leadership roles in the organisation, helping to ensure some continuity with projects conceived during the CCF and SOOT campaign. The

activities and projects pursued by participants in the EOTDT are shown below to open up lines of flight from the determinations of majoritarian development models which have influenced the design of Caltongate. Following some five public meetings hosted by the SOOT leadership to discuss the intentions, hopes and details regarding the formation of the trust between April and August 2009, the trust was formally ‘set up’ at a meeting on 26 November 2009, almost exactly four years after the original release of Caltongate masterplan.

The ongoing reterritorialisation of the Canongate

The relationship between the Canongate and the Old Town may in some ways seem obvious: on a map, the Canongate appears as a neighbourhood of the Old Town. In fact, such a map may be found by clicking on the ‘About Us: Our Area’ link on the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust’s website. The inclusion of the housing project Dumbiedykes, the neighbourhood of Croft-an-Righ and part of Abbeyhill distinguish this map from many other Old Town representations, which typically establish the eastern and southern boundaries of the Old Town at Holyrood. As the memories of participants in the reminiscence sessions and the experiences of Julie and Sally in organising the Caltongate campaign suggest, these three neighbourhoods have historically participated in a singular community with the residents of the Canongate, and therefore this map indicates the strong representation of Canongate-based campaigners, familiar with these reminiscences and the campaign to halt Caltongate, in the EOTDT.

The corpus of the Old Town is thus reimagined in a way that is attendant to communities of practice rather than the more commonly employed borders designated by two major streets, Holyrood Road and Calton Road. Non-Canongotian members of the EOTDT who hail from areas such as the Grassmarket and Cowgate participate in this community-centric remapping of the Old Town in part as a strategic embrace of the long-term residents and families who have mostly vacated the more westerly neighbourhoods of the Old Town, suggesting that even geographic designations such as the Old Town can fluidly respond to projects of community life, such as the ongoing reterritorialisation of the Canongate. Having begun as an attempt to re-establish a drifting, even evaporating neighbourhood identity in the event of Caltongate's proposal, the campaign of Canongate residents led by Sally, Julie and Catriona has facilitated a re-orientating of community activity in the Old Town towards its easterly end and encouraged flows of information, imagination and memory from the campaigners of the Canongate to the rest of the Old Town residents. In particular, a sense of localised heritage which the residents are accountable to protect represents an orientating communal value, the present-day pursuit of which has been informed by Canongate residents' experiences in the CCF/SOOT campaign.

Integrating heritage and community in the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust

As the above section has shown, the organisation of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust bears the influence of the Canongate residents' campaigns to halt Caltongate and reterritorialise the Canongate. Not only have many of the same campaigners taken roles in the EOTDT, but the EOTDT's efforts to shape community life and representation in local development decisions in the absence of an immediate threat such as Caltongate reflect the characterisations of a Canongotian ethos which emerged particularly through the Canongate

Project. The EOTDT's self-proclaimed mission and aims, presented below, focus upon the sustenance and preservation of the existing residential community and frame their interests in supporting local needs-based shops, the conservation and re-use of existing buildings and an 'appropriate range' of employment opportunities in the highly moralising language of 'sustainability', 'health', 'balance', 'diversity' and 'historic integrity'. Through the defining of their mission, the organisers of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust indicate that they seek to define and pursue an ethical life centred upon residential community practices and sensitive to the historic nature of the Old Town, in the words presented below (cf. Das 1998; Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

The 'mission' of the EOTDT presented on the group's web page states, 'Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust has been set up by local residents to help the Old Town develop in a way that meets the needs of the people who live in it'. This mission is diffused into the following four 'main aims':

- To provide a vehicle for community-led development of Edinburgh Old Town that meets identified community needs, through encouraging the involvement of local residents in planning and implementing specific initiatives;
- To work towards a low carbon, sustainable urban community;
- The preservation of the diverse culture and historic integrity of Edinburgh Old Town;
- To work with other organisations to create a healthy, balanced and sustainable urban economy, which supports its residential community effectively and provides an appropriate range of employment opportunities for Edinburgh residents. (Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust 2011c)

This idealisation of community life and its integration with the conservation of a specific place's 'historic integrity' echo the demands of the SOOT campaigners for representation in the redevelopment of the Canongate. I suggest that both the SOOT campaign and the EOTDT, although embracing alliances with Edinburgh's professional heritage organisations, in their own

approaches to heritage conservation hearken back to the community action groups campaigning for the conservation of historic buildings in Edinburgh during the 1960s and 1970s, having been particularly influenced by the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust. This community group, in which CCF, SOOT and EOTDT activist (as well as Canongate resident) Jim participated as director, intertwined arguments for building conservation with the insistence that the presence and maintenance of such historic buildings contributed to community welfare (cf. Jenkins and Holder 2005: 196-7), thus granting them the contemporary relevance Mock (1993) has shown to be essential to the preservation of the historic built environment. By establishing a role for the Old Town's 'historic integrity' in the cultivation of an ethical life amongst its residential community, the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust seeks to provide some informal protections for the historic built environment which legal codifications as 'listed buildings' have failed to uphold in practice.

These legal protections had been hard-won through the professionalisation of heritage organisations and their inclusion in bureaucratic planning procedures during the 1980s and 1990s (see Chapter 1). The official list of legal restrictions regarding the alteration and/or demolition of listed buildings is maintained by an executive agency of the Scottish Government, Historic Scotland, which includes the provision that, '[a]lthough listing does not mean that the building must remain unaltered in all circumstances, it does mean that demolition will generally not be allowed' (Historic Scotland 2011). Edinburgh's recent history of development practice has shown, however, that despite the protected status of many 'listed buildings', pro-development organisations and individuals have demonstrated remarkable facility in relativising and subverting these protections. Donald Anderson's (2010) musings, below, on the impact of such

listed statuses on Caltongate, as well as future development projects in Edinburgh illustrates the vulnerability of these structures:

In terms of the heritage issues within the Council, I don't think anybody saw the heritage issues as necessarily a show-stopper for the development, when you come up against these things all the time. I make no apology for the fact that I am more ambitious about changing the decisions in terms of heritage—I mean, I have real concerns about some of the listed buildings on Princes Street that I think are frankly bloody awful. Ehm... but they are listed, and some of them are Category A-listed. We didn't have Category A-listed buildings in the Caltongate development. It wasn't seen as, internally within the Council, as serious an issue in terms of planning issues, strict planning issues. It was more a concern about the politics and how the politics would go.

Some of the primary 'heritage issues' Anderson identified as the historical listing of buildings and the potential of these protections to act as a 'show-stopper' to new development. As Anderson made clear, however, even given the current state of relative ease of managing the demolition of listed buildings in development plans, he favours changing the heritage procedures such that any structure, historically listed or not, may be circumstantially considered by members of the council within the context of the potential benefits of new development. Anderson's characterisations of the planning of Caltongate as well as his hope for a loosening of the existing restrictions suggest that the legal protections offered by the registry of historical structures in Edinburgh represent an illusory triumph for the heritage conservation professionals of Edinburgh. The statements delivered by representatives of these groups, such as the Cockburn Association and the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, at council planning meetings during Caltongate's period as a live development proposal indicate that this issue concerns the leadership of these organisations. Despite their public condemnation of recent council practices which have enabled the demolition of many listed buildings, however, these practices continue largely unchastened, and the futility of appeals to the legal protections assigned to the listed buildings of the Canongate have outraged resident campaigners like Julie, Sally and Catriona.

The defining of heritage by particular cultural groups has been treated by anthropologists with scepticism, as an undertaking which tends to portray the objects or events in question as inherently exclusionary, privileging the cultural interpretations of the wealthy and powerful at the expense of the ‘lesser classes’ (Brumann 2009: 277). The designation of official heritage is widely recognised as the result of a politicised process, in which access to various sorts of social and economic capital facilitate a particular group’s version of heritage becoming *the* bounded body of heritage for a corporate identity. In the case of Edinburgh’s built heritage, however, official classifications as such have often been set against the development efforts backed by local growth coalitions with large amounts of social and economic capital, resulting in the demolition of many listed buildings: four structurally sound listed buildings in 2007 alone. As in the case of Caltongate, even harsh criticisms by representatives of international heritage bodies such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) have failed to sway local government members to consider official designations of architectural heritage as legitimate factors in new development decisions (*Scotsman* 2009a; *Scotsman* 2009b). Chief Executive of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce Ron Hewitt spoke candidly on his view of the impact of heritage designations (such as the World Heritage ‘conservation area’) upon development in the Canongate and beyond.

[S]ensible people who care for the city agree that we need to balance our historical heritage and future prosperity... It is never easy to balance the historical aspects of a city as ancient as Edinburgh with the needs of our present day economy. What we cannot do is say we can never demolish any building just because it exists in a conservation area, when we have the offer of developments which will add to the sum total of what our city offers, and its need to expand and grow (Hewitt 2006a; cf. Hewitt 2006b).

Hewitt's opposition of 'historical heritage' [sic] and 'future prosperity', also implicit in Anderson's above statement, frames legal designations of heritage status as bureaucratic obstacles rather than expressions of 'symbolic and cultural value', as such buildings are characterised in a document of the EOTDT below. The cumulative strength of social and economic capital backing these particular views and their attendant practices serves to destabilise any protective measures for architectural heritage. In an interview with a member of the Cockburn Association and Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, Catherine, we discussed the demolition of listed buildings for Caltongate.

Christa: Did the results of the hearing [in which Caltongate was granted planning permission] surprise you?

Catherine: If I hadn't been working in the heritage sector, I would've been surprised, because I thought it was such a bad decision.

Catherine went on to explain that over the past ten months, Edinburgh planning officials had voted to demolish four listed buildings, as well as reduce additional listed buildings to façades. She had taken it upon herself to phone heritage organisations in the similarly-sized cities of York, Bath and Bristol, in order to compare development practices there with Edinburgh, and she quoted to me the surprised response of the York representative to her query as to how many listed buildings had been demolished there over the same period of time: 'But you're not allowed to pull listed buildings down!' The treatment of listed buildings thus varies widely between cities in the United Kingdom, but confusion as to the role of 'historic' structures in future-orientated city development plans is not limited to British or even social democratic contexts (cf. Wieszkalnys 2010; Zhang 2006).

In the absence of effective legal protections for historic buildings, therefore, the leaders of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, informed by the experiences of Canongate

campaigners and their allies in the heritage organisations, subsumed pleas for the preservation of individual structures under the aim of ‘encouraging the involvement of local residents in planning and implementing specific initiatives’, or claiming residents’ informal rights to shape the spaces and forms of the city. In this context, the preservation of particular buildings relies upon the EOTDT’s cultivation of residents’ own commitment to conserving the historic built environment, which I suggest represents an early priority for the group, carried out through the design of a new Canongate Venture project, described below.

The Canongate Venture project has been developed by the leadership of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, in which Catriona and Jim have taken formative roles. It represents the fruition of some hopes for the community-led development of the Canongate which carry forth the collaborative ambitions of the community plan (see Chapter 3). The aims established by the EOTDT for the Canongate Venture project reflect the organisation’s larger goals, described above, while further addressing the nature of the group’s interest in the ‘historical integrity’ of the Old Town:

- To work with other organisations to create a healthy, balanced and sustainable urban economy
- The preservation of buildings or sites of historical architectural importance
- The creation of training and employment opportunities by the provision of workspace, buildings and/or land for use on favourable terms (Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust 2011a)

The below characterisation of the Canongate Venture, provided in the project’s proposal, further clarifies the origins of the project as deriving from the CCF and SOOT activities to halt Caltongate. The CCF had petitioned the Council for use of one of the units within the Canongate Venture, upon learning of its closure in 2007, in an early attempt to establish a community space, but this claim had been denied. Julie and Catriona in particular had remained quite keen on

establishing community ownership and planning participation in regards to this building, which they regarded as a historical landmark of the neighbourhood, as well as an extremely functional building with many potential uses in support of community activities. Although not participating directly in the design of the Canongate Venture project, due to her rift with EOTDT leader Catriona, Julie keeps up with the project's progress from a distance and openly expresses her support for it. An excerpt from the Canongate Venture project proposal, describing the building itself, is presented below:

The Canongate Venture is the red sandstone former North Canongate Infant School designed by Robert Wilson (1900), listed grade C. Owned by Edinburgh City Council it was in use as office and workshop space, providing local employment and services. The building is the only one of its type in the Canongate area and has great symbolic and historic value to the local community. In 2007 the building was earmarked for demolition as part of the Caltongate masterplan to make way for a hotel and conference centre and the Council terminated the leases. The justification for its demolition was purely economic. While in use it was maintained in good condition but has suffered from some neglect since letting ceased.

The building's historical pedigree is vaunted and its 'great symbolic and historic value to the local community' emphasised in this attempt to transform a potential demolition site into a community asset, the hoped-for Canongate Literature Centre. This Literature Centre, within blocks of both the Scottish Storytelling Centre and the Scottish Poetry Library, was advertised by the EOTDT as helping to establish a Scottish 'Literary Quarter' in the Canongate, an idea which found purchase with a range of partners, including many publishing, literacy and media representatives. Perhaps most notable among these partners is Caltongate architect Malcolm Fraser, who despite his many criticisms of the community-based campaign against Caltongate (see Chapter 4), contacted the leadership of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust and asked to join the planning of this project in its earliest stages. Although the former CCF and SOOT members in the EOTDT (particularly Catriona) have remained sceptical of Fraser and his

intentions, as the well-established architect responsible for the building of the Scottish Poetry Library his contributions to the design of the centre have been accepted, and rather more wholeheartedly by those members lacking the experience of the Caltongate campaign.

Fraser for his part has pursued the project enthusiastically, lobbying the city councillors who conducted a feasibility study in 2010, drawing designs for the building's structural improvements and additions and generally taking on the role of 'community architect', somewhat to the bemusement of Canongate residents who had learned during the 2005-2008 period to view him as an enemy of the community. In fact, Fraser's about-face in regard to community engagement indicates the Canongate leaders' success in re-presenting themselves as representatives of the Old Town, rather than the Canongate. In a 2010 interview, Fraser proudly described his work with the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust's efforts at community-led development for the Old Town, failing to note that several Canongotian leaders were involved in this project, even as he criticised the SOOT campaigners who had represented the Canongate community against Caltongate. Disassociation of the EOTDT from the CCF/SOOT and re-identification of the group with the Old Town rather than the Canongate in particular enabled the EOTDT to represent itself as a more generally pro-community organisation and therefore gain support from individuals critical of the campaigners and their anti-Caltongate activities.

While the campaigners refrained from emphasising their Canongotian activities, however, the experience of that campaign has directly influenced their work in this Old Town community organisation. I have shown that campaigners, confronted with the uncertain experiences of becoming-minor, had adapted their participation strategies to their political conditions as a minority engaging a majority model of development. Rather than merely lobbying amongst the city's elected representatives for the preservation of the Old Town's

historically listed buildings, the experience of the Caltongate campaign and the futility of such supplications in that context influenced the former participants in that campaign to pursue an alternative approach to the conservation of the historic built environment within the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust. The Canongate Venture project, which has received cautious encouragement from the council and gained the active approval of Malcolm Fraser, among others, represents an attempt to achieve the preservation of a historically listed building intended via Caltongate for demolition, through its repurposing as a community and city-wide resource. I suggest that this intertwining of heritage and community is a strategic manoeuvre, informed by the experiences of contributors to the campaign to halt Caltongate, that seeks to provide additional protections for historic buildings which are not currently encoded in the local planning system. Preserving such buildings enables the maintenance of an aesthetically indexed continuity with an area's past inhabitants, which as noted in Chapter 4 was desired by both the reminiscers and the Canongate's resident campaigners. Having found that listed building protections are vulnerable to pro-development advocacy and that community planning participation is regarded by councillors as a desired but ill-defined good, those campaigners from the CCF/SOOT are working through EOTDT projects like the Canongate Literature Centre to establish their presence as a community organisation working proactively for the redevelopment of the Old Town with the support (and therefore certain protections) of prominent institutions and individuals. Projects like these are intended to help establish the practical necessity of community planning consultation on future developments in the Old Town, despite the continued lack of legally defined procedures and requirements for such consultation.

Community, development and planning

People need to stop and think about the regeneration of the city as a place to live, not just a place to work... Cities are for people; there should be places for people to live in the city centre.

David, of the Gardyloo campaign and Edinburgh At Risk

The above quote by the organiser of the Gardyloo campaign to address a proposed development at Tollcross states a perspective shared by members of the other Edinburgh At Risk causes, including Save Our Old Town. This insistence on the need to consider residents of the city and adapt municipal development decisions to the needs of residential populations, rather than workers or tourists, motivates much of the work of neighbourhood and community organisations in Edinburgh's city centre. A document created by members of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust in August 2011 stresses that '*balance* between city promotion and local residents is needed' (emphasis original), as a primary criterion for development in the Old Town (Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust 2011d). This document reflects the planning critiques voiced by various Edinburgh At Risk organisations, as well as commonly expressed frustrations as to the lack of recognition of community residents as stakeholders in planning decisions, particularly within the economically prioritised city centre. Two projects undertaken by the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust are presented below as attempts to provision for the felt needs of the Old Town's residential community, the identification and execution of which have been influenced by the experiences of Canongate-based campaigners. These projects represent mobilisations of Old Town residents to shape the development trajectories of the area with minimal engagement of the planning committee of the city council, in attempts to participate in the redevelopment of residents' neighbourhoods despite their lack of formal representation in the municipal planning processes.

Food provision strategies

Throughout the Old Town, acquiring food is often convenient, usually quick and almost always expensive. The primary providers of food in this area are delis, speciality shops, cafés, restaurants and corner shops; while one can rather easily locate a poke of chips or a chocolate bar, finding fresh fruits and vegetables for dinner requires a long walk or a bus ride. The narratives of the Canongate's transformation produced by the reminiscence sessions have detailed the gradual disappearance of such needs-based shops and their replacement by tourist-orientated fare, tales whose telling never fail to incense Margaret anew. Longer-term residents of the Canongate such as Jim, who moved into his Jeffrey Street flat in 1974, recall the dramatically different array of shops at which residents could then purchase fresh fish, meat, cheese, fruit, vegetables and bread within a few minutes' walk of their homes. The experience of hosting the reminiscence sessions for the Canongate Project further alerted several of the campaigners to the plight of elderly residents and others in sheltered accommodations, for whom the purchasing of food required often-difficult trips on local buses with abbreviated weekend schedules.

The community plan designed by the collaborative input of Canongate residents at the open-door community planning day in 2006 sought to address the difficulties of local food acquisition through its accommodations for a fruit and vegetable market on the site of a council parking garage (see Chapter 3). Despite the council's initial encouragement of this proposal, however, the market failed to materialise, partly due to a lack of community resources at the time, and partly reflecting the council's uncertainty on the matter; after approving the proposal, they turned the site over to the community for only a short period. Having recognised the need for food provision in the Canongate, the resident campaigners at that time faced the looming possibility of Caltongate as well as wavering commitment from the council, and so the issue was

tabled. It was not until the organisation of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust that some of the campaigners' ideas, such as the facilitation of a local market, were pursued again, and this time the context of the minority's locality had expanded to include the entire Old Town.

Together, the members of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust were led by Mark, a non-Canongotian Old Town resident, in the organisation of a series of strategies aimed at providing for the food needs of Old Town residents. These strategies, in various stages of organisation today, include the arranging of a food co-operative which meets in a designated Old Town space to offer fruits, vegetables, bread, eggs and a few other edibles for non-profit purchase. A 'pilot' version of the food co-op has already been hosted in the halls of Old St. Paul's Church in the Canongate, previously the site of numerous meetings of the Canongate Community Forum and Save Our Old Town, and it attracted more residents than anticipated, eventually selling out of all but a few items. The co-ops are organised in partnership with Edinburgh Community Food, a provider of locally grown food to co-ops around the city.

In addition to the co-op, the scheduling of food vans is being pursued as a means of bringing fresh food into the Old Town, in the absence of local commercial retail sites. These vans, anticipated to provide meat and fish weekly, as well as deliveries of milk and cheese, are hoped to address in particular the difficulties experienced by elderly Old Town residents in procuring these basic products. Additionally, the establishment of a schedule of regular market events in the Old Town, following the model of local markets arranged by Balerno's Village Trust, will bring to fruition the desires of the Canongate-based campaigners to create spaces for market interaction within walkable distances of Old Town homes. Such markets can, like the food vans and co-op described above, help to address the lack of basic food provision in the area by providing alternative venues for food sales and food sharing.

Some members of the EOTDT hope to expand these efforts to include currently operating food traders in their negotiations for food provision. This plan, now in nascent stages of development, seeks to firstly design a survey of residents' food-based needs, and following the delivery of this survey, to bring the results to local food suppliers and encourage them to adjust their product purchases to address these needs. Such a plan depends upon the cooperation of these food traders with members of the community, and it will require further development and the investment of much time and energy on the part of EOTDT members to execute. Nevertheless, at this point it remains an unfinished project of becoming, designed to provision for the needs of the Old Town as a residential community.

Together the projects presented above seek not only to address a felt lack, in basic food provision in the Old Town, but to facilitate community-wide interaction at regular events and thereby help to foster a sense of community belonging and investment among the current residents, both long- and short-term. These efforts reflect the conviction of EOTDT members and former Canongate campaigners that the cultivation of shared community practices, identified by Das (1998) as key to identification with a particular community, represents a powerful resource in the creation of avenues for participation in the planning and development in a city, when few means of contributing to the municipality's formal planning processes are available.

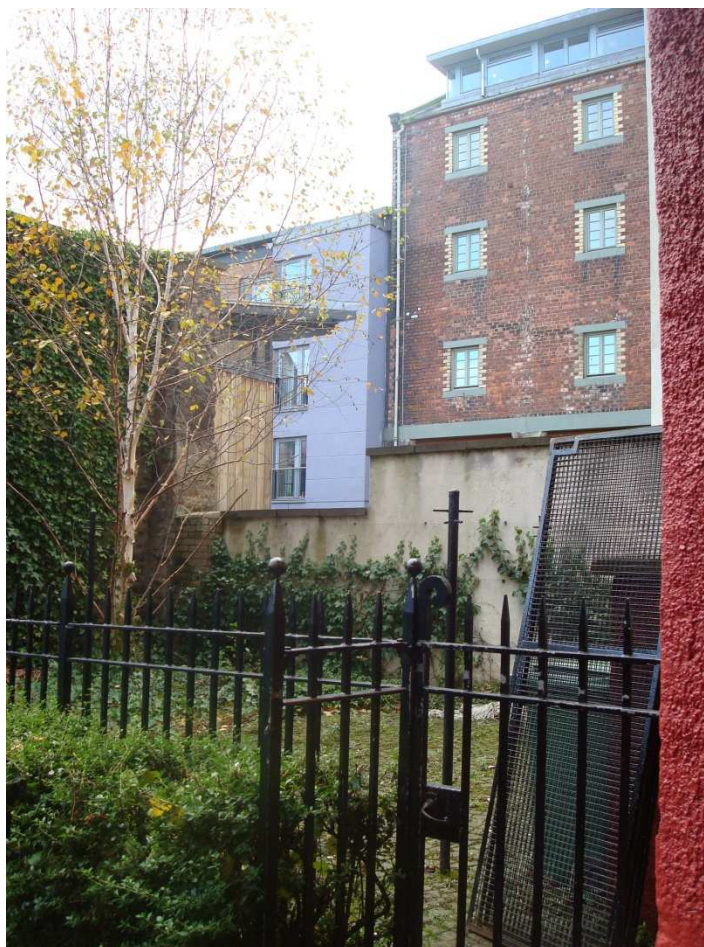
Reclaiming the hidden gardens

Redevelopment of the physical spaces of the Old Town is being pursued through the myriad activities of the Patrick Geddes Gardening Club, a project of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust so named 'in honour of biologist, Old Town resident and urban planner Patrick Geddes' (Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust 2011b). Geddes continues to be

recognised as an ideal figure representing development practices that advocate conservation of historic buildings and attentiveness to the needs of the local residents. Naming the gardening club after Geddes indicates the group's larger planning intentions, and serious interest in Geddes is reflected in EOTDT leader Jim's co-authorship, with Lou Rosenberg, of a 2010 book on Geddes' contributions to the 'renewal' of 'Old Edinburgh'.²⁸

The Patrick Geddes Gardening Club concerns itself with addressing the hidden gardens of the Old Town, which emerged through the reminiscence sessions as special places of community interaction, intermingled amongst the towering tenements. As Bern and others have noted, however, today many of these gardens are used for storage of commercial trash bins and are otherwise overgrown and largely unused. The SOOT campaign and Canongate Project utilised some such gardens in the Canongate for performance art pieces and communal gatherings, and desires to cultivate some of the unused gardens for community use had long been expressed by Canongate campaigners. Catriona in particular had imagined possibilities for 'community gardens' in the Canongate, and her leadership of the Patrick Geddes Gardening Club evidences her continued commitment to this project.

²⁸ Jim Johnson and Lou Rosenberg (2010) *Renewing Old Edinburgh: The Enduring Legacy of Patrick Geddes*. Glendaruell: Argyll Publishing.



A small back garden behind the street Canongate, used to store a shop's window grates (Author's photo 2010)

In her attempts to address the renovation of her own back garden in the Old Town, Bern had discovered that difficulties at establishing ownership of these spaces often hinder residents' endeavours to organise and in particular to receive council support of such small projects. Anticipating such obstacles, Catriona, representing the Gardening Club, therefore approached the council directly with a plea to work in the back garden of a council-owned property, seventeenth-century Acheson House in the Canongate. The fact that this building is currently being pursued as the new home of Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, the leadership of which are already in consultation with the council over the lease of this property and support the Gardening Club's project, has facilitated a relatively brief consultation and the subsequent granting of council

permission. By spring 2011 members of the club were tangling with the wild growth and garbage that constituted this green space, which had been used as a midden for the past twenty years.

Although other smaller projects continue to be pursued, including club members contributing to the clearing of various overgrown and disused garden spaces throughout the Old Town, the Acheson House project represents the largest investment of the group. A drop-in event at the Museum of Edinburgh (in the Canongate) in May 2011 was advertised as a means of publicising the project and recruiting volunteers, and gardening classes were offered in July 2011 as a means of attracting individuals to the Acheson House site to work for a few hours. Catriona's hopes for the garden include raised flower beds, fruits, vegetables and herbs and even, more ambitiously, the possibility of beekeeping; the fruit and vegetable garden especially appeals to her historic sensitivity, as she would like to plant such things as might have been grown in a kitchen garden during the house's use as a seventeenth-century residence. Beyond Acheson House, her ambitions include the gardens of the Canongate Kirk, in which she'd like to see flowers and herbs, as well as a project dedicated to the growing of food for community sharing, in support of the food provision strategies presented above.

Catriona's leadership of the Patrick Geddes Gardening Club has directed the group's attentions at this early stage towards the spaces of the Canongate, but the volunteers who join her hail from various parts of the Old Town. Their ongoing cultivation of hidden gardens in proximity to their residences will continue to extend the impact of the group's gardening efforts in the immediate future, and the food provision gardens, now only in the earliest stages of discussion and planning, are intended to be allocated throughout the Old Town. The Gardening Club's agenda therefore reflects its Canongotian origins, as well as a nascent trajectory of

movement through the Old Town, encouraging a collaborative physical labour of redevelopment which addresses the small but precious green spaces of community life. Cultivating these gardens offers residents a practical means of contributing to the Canongate's present characteristic aesthetic, as an alternative to the large sleek structures and broad open spaces envisioned by the architects of the Caltongate masterplan. Engaging the bureaucratic council procedures in a designedly minimal manner, the gardeners of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust act as small-scale planners and developers, seeking to reclaim their hidden gardens both through and for community use.

Action through disillusionment

The experiences of Canongate residents in their ultimately unsuccessful campaign to claim a communal right to participate in the redevelopment of the Canongate encouraged them to seek planning participation outside the formal procedures, through the particular projects addressing food provision and green spaces discussed above. Julie's personal trajectory, from city planner to full-time community activist, perhaps best illustrates this transformation in strategy. While Caltongate was a live proposal, Julie took the lead in interpreting the opaquely technical planning documents produced by the developer, writing detailed responses to their planning applications and drafting letters of objection that not only gained her a listening ear amongst Edinburgh's public media and private planners, but established her as a planning authority within the emergent community of development protest organisations in the city. As David of the Gardyloo campaign reflected on the progress of his cause in 2008, he lamented that he had written the campaign's primary objection letter before he had met Julie, wondering how the campaign might have turned out differently had he benefited from her guidance at that stage.

In my own experience, when discussing the Caltongate controversy with representatives of heritage organisations, council members and participants in other development protest groups, I was routinely directed to Julie as the foremost expert on the relevant planning issues.

Discussing that campaign with Julie today, she has shared a very different perspective, one she admits reflects her ‘disillusionment’:

So I think that... because of my sort of planning background—I mean that was the sort of thing that stuck in my throat worst... On an academic and professional level, it sickened me to see—because planners get a lot of flak for making bad decisions, for being crap, and all the rest of it. This was not about planners being crap. This was about planning service basically just going, ‘Uhh! Let somebody else do it!’ And all the motivations—when I first went into planning, part of the reason I quite liked it was because the basic principles of planning are to do with putting the public interests at the heart of it. I think you have these policies and protections and rules so that you can’t have uncontrolled development, where whoever’s got the most money can do whatever the f*** they want, and to hell with everybody else. You know what I mean? That is sort of the basic principles of it [planning], about trying to keep that balance.

The same ‘public interests’ that Julie once pursued through planning, she currently pursues through community activism, through a variety of causes and organisations. Like the members of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust, she chooses to claim a community-based right to the city through the design and implementation of particular projects, largely outside the formal bureaucratic procedures of public representation. Although neither Julie, Sally nor Catriona eschew participation in local government entirely, and both Jim and Margaret take a more sanguine approach to the possibility of future bureaucratic representation of communities, these individuals’ experiences of attempting to negotiate their influence as a minority engaging the majority model of the Caltongate masterplan has convinced them of the immediate necessity of community organisation, through which they currently pursue participation, as a minority, in the planning of their urban neighbourhood and thereby lay claim to their collective rights to the city.

Conclusions: Becoming Canongate *and* Caltongate

As the above discussion of the ongoing projects of the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust shows, the experiences of Canongate residents in engaging the majoritarian model of urban development represented by Caltongate and seeking to establish for themselves a community-based right to participation in the redevelopment of their neighbourhood has shaped present-day efforts at community representation and activism throughout the Old Town. Many of these efforts are characterised by attempts to extend the ethos, or localised ethics of dwelling, which campaigners had attributed to the practice of life in the Canongate; this ethos emphasises a respect for the area's historic built environment, which is valued and protected by the resident community in their cultivation of a shared life. The idealised integration of the local built heritage and community in the everyday practice of life emerged as an attempt of Canongate residents to reterritorialise the Canongate as a distinct and meaningful place, in the face of perceived threats to both erase its territorial identity and remove its current population, in the form of the Caltongate development.

The activities currently pursued by volunteers in the EOTDT sketch lines of flight from the prestige development model of urban planning and thus represent minority projects of becoming capable of subverting some of the structuring influences of such majority models. Despite Caltongate's contribution to the deterritorialising flows which have threatened to absorb the Canongate into a larger urban or regional identity, I suggest that the proposal of the Caltongate masterplan, in its evocation of a minoritarian residential campaign and subsequent projects of community activism in the Old Town, has aided in the transformation of the Canongate into a significant territory and community in the Old Town. The 'community spirit' which the campaigners both discovered and cultivated in the Canongate in response to

Caltongate's proposal has not, in the campaigners' estimations, solved the Canongate's population, housing or provisional problems; nor has it managed to prevent some residents' exclusion from the area in preparation for Caltongate-required tenement demolition. I have suggested above that the experience of this campaign has, however, changed the way that residents in both the Canongate and larger Old Town area engage local issues like development proposals and residential needs, in a way that emphasises communal identifications and practices and links these to the claiming of a community-based right to the city.

Reflecting upon the contribution of the campaign to her community, Julie mused that '[t]he people who remain are better connected and have formed networks to circulate information quickly about new threats... and a number of new groups have established to take forward issues of concern to the wider community'. Many of these networks rely upon email and social media like Facebook and Twitter, which Julie herself uses, although she admits that these engagements cannot replace daily interaction within a physical space, in terms of helping people 'see and feel a part of the community'. The SOOT campaign's many events, strong visual presence in the neighbourhood and ability to bring people together in response to the immediate threat of Caltongate accomplished remarkable success in that respect, she felt.

Caltongate represented the occasion for the emergence of the CCF and the SOOT campaign, which united many local residents and shop owners in the reterritorialisation of the eastern end of the Royal Mile as the historic Canongate and reinvention of themselves as the community of the Canongate. Although the area was perceived by former residents and resident campaigners as a 'long-term residential community', the transference of much social housing stock to private ownership, consequent departure of many families from the area and influx of transient residents as part of the city's cultivation of the Royal Mile as a tourist destination had

worked against the maintenance of social practices and investment in community resources in the Canongate. In the observation of Julie and others, the proposal of Caltongate lent a sense of urgency to the mobilisation of the Canongate community, and SOOT offered a host of opportunities for individuals' involvement in their campaign to halt Caltongate and establish the community's right to participate in the planning of their neighbourhood's redevelopment. These opportunities for community participation and self-representation served to unite residents around a sense of belonging to the Canongate, such that a 'community spirit' could be said to be 'discovered' or 'realised' through the campaign itself.

Inasmuch as the Caltongate masterplan represented the occasion for such mobilisations, analysis of the emergence of community spirit in the Canongate must acknowledge the contribution of Caltongate to the reterritorialisation of the Canongate. Caltongate and the Canongate should not be represented as entirely opposed, therefore, but intertwined in a single trajectory of becoming, such that the potential becoming of Caltongate has implied and inspired the particular becoming(s) of the Canongate described in these chapters. The relationship between the two places, both in respective phases of emergence, illustrates well Deleuze's suggestion that flows of deterritorialisation are always accompanied by resistant counter-movements of reterritorialisation. In practice, however, such flows are difficult to separate; ongoing community efforts to shape the Canongate, such as the EOTDT's redevelopment of the Canongate Venture, rely upon the council's exclusion of previous lessees as well as its interest, expressed in support of Caltongate, in regenerating this particular space.

Characterising the Canongate and Caltongate as invested in a single trajectory of becoming, rather than two oppositely directed flows, better represents the interrelationship between the two places. While Caltongate's motivation of the campaigners' re-presentation of

the Canongate is perhaps more readily evident, the influence of the Canongate upon the emergent spaces, forms and practices of Caltongate remains a fascinating question. Caltongate's stylistic departure from the 'tenement cliffs' of the Canongate represents a Bourdieusian judgment of taste which reflects a social critique, and thus the campaigns and counter-campaigns have featured heated contestations of neighbourhood aesthetics no less than housing policies (Bourdieu 1984). The public image of Caltongate depended upon a certain representation of the Canongate which is more difficult to support today, following the residents' energetic and high-profile campaign. Its implementation in the very spaces which are currently being redeveloped by community members can thus no longer be characterised as the obviously-welcomed improvement of an unloved area, even if debates over the aesthetic merit of each continue to thrive. Despite Caltongate's approval by the city's council planning committee, therefore, the masterplan remains a controversial document, the still-possible implementation of which now implies for many Edinburgh residents the council's disregard for the willing planning participation of a very organised residential group, well-informed as to municipal planning procedures and requirements and supported by heritage organisations at city and international levels.

While the futures of the Canongate and Caltongate appear to be bound together, with direct implications for the future development of the rest of the Old Town as well, the long-term impact of Caltongate upon the Canongate should be distinguished from its influence thus far. Although the proposal of Caltongate has mobilised the residential population of the Canongate and indirectly fostered a renewed sense of communal belonging and purpose there, even shaping nascent community-led projects in the Old Town, its inevitable contribution to transient population trends in the Canongate suggest that its implementation would further exacerbate the

‘erosion’ of community observed by Bern above. The ability of organised groups such as the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust to mobilise residents to lead and participate in its community projects in the absence of a long-term residential population as well as bureaucratic avenues for participation is highly unlikely. As such, although an early instigator for urban reterritorialisation and minority-led alternatives to majoritarian development, Caltongate, if implemented, will eventually and powerfully contribute to the deterritorialisation of the Old Town’s ‘east end’ and the replacement of the resident minority with the majority model of urban consumers pursued by Caltongate’s proponents.

The council is currently considering offers by development firms willing to take the existing Caltongate masterplan forward, but the matter depends upon the cooperation of the major landowner, Halifax Bank of Scotland, who at this time remain resistant to speculative new development. While interest in the future of Caltongate abounds, residents wonder whether, in the event of Caltongate being taken on by a new developer, will the council’s bureaucratic approval be viewed as satisfactory to initiate the implementation of the masterplan in its current state? Or will the new developer take stock of public opinion in and about the Canongate and Old Town and request the drafting of modifications to appease some resident-derived demands? As responses emerge to these queries, residents will closely observe whether, in the absence of formal incorporation by the municipal planning processes, community representations and actions may achieve participation in development through direct engagement with the private-sector developer. In the meantime, many former SOOT campaigners like Catriona, Julie, Jim and Margaret and emergent resident activists in organisations like the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust remain committed to the community-centric redevelopment of the Canongate and surrounding Old Town, and they attempt to shape the spaces, forms and uses of the existing

built environment as much as they can before a new force for majoritarian development, such as a re-vitalised Caltongate, does emerge.

Conclusions

The public presentation of the Caltongate masterplan in 2005 evidenced the workings, in Edinburgh, of an urban growth coalition invested in promoting the city in an international game of interurban competition. This masterplan indicated intentions for the dramatic redevelopment of an area of Edinburgh's Old Town, encompassing both a historic neighbourhood known as the Canongate and part of the Waverley Valley. As the more residential of these two areas, the Canongate was especially vulnerable to such a scheme, due to its location on the Royal Mile, Scotland's most famous street, and the previous century and a half of its history, during which the area had emerged as an impoverished urban slum and, despite the subsequent efforts of many reformers, was now suffering from decades of a slow-drip population drain. In particular, many of the Canongate's contemporary woes may be attributed to the gradual loss of its long-term residents and concomitant encroachment of tourist shops at the expense of provisions for the area's residents.

As a legacy of reform projects from the early- to mid-twentieth century, which had replaced many dilapidated tenements with sturdy low-cost council homes belonging to the local authority, the Canongate has retained a larger council housing stock relative to neighbouring areas in the Old Town. Despite the high rate of turnover of such homes to private landlords since the 1970s and especially the 1980s, the Canongate's council homes support some of the few remaining tenement-dwelling families in the Old Town, where the single-occupancy flat predominates.²⁹ These families had experienced the above-described processes of the

²⁹ For the seven (2001) census output areas of the Canongate, an average of 20% of the population rents from the local housing authority, a percentage higher than the average for Edinburgh (11%) and each of the rest of the Royal Mile-facing census output areas, excepting one. Properties rented from the housing authority are still outnumbered

Canongate's degradation over previous decades, which I have suggested may be collectively represented as a slow deterritorialisation, by which the Canongate was losing its distinctive identity and being absorbed instead into neighbouring place identities, such as Holyrood, and general geographic designations, such as the 'east end' of Edinburgh's city centre. The proposal for Caltongate and its promises to accelerate such processes through large-scale demolitions and construction, as well as the re-naming of the area, shocked many of these residents into organising a community response aimed at resisting the deterritorialisation of the Canongate.

I have found the Caltongate masterplan to represent a majoritarian project of development, intended to produce built forms according to the standard measure of the internationally mobile business tourist or visitor, whose urban activities focus upon the pursuit of upmarket consumption opportunities. Although this figure does not represent a quantitative majority by comparison to other urban residents and visitors, it served as an ideal consumer for whom to design the urban development of Caltongate, particularly in the perspectives of commercial developers, local business leaders, and some architects and city councillors. I have shown that residents of the Canongate, who organised a counter-campaign in the wake of this masterplan's public proposal, experienced processes of becoming-minor, in relation to the majority ideal represented by Caltongate and its proponents.

I have argued that the residents' campaign did not centre upon protest of the Caltongate development itself, but represented a project of becoming by which residents sought to achieve the rights due to a majority. Central to the resident campaigners' struggle was the pursuit of a renewal of a sense of community spirit in the Canongate and establishment of their rights, as

by owner-occupied properties in the Canongate, reflecting the neighbourhood's variegated character, as noted in Chapter 2.

community members, to participate in the redevelopment of the Canongate. This campaign expressed residents' desires to address the degradation of the Canongate by attending to the community-articulated needs for everyday life, instead of transforming the area in order to attract the upmarket visitors and business tourists identified by Caltongate's proponents as necessary to the Canongate's redevelopment. In this way, I have suggested that residents pursued their *rights to the city* (Lefebvre 1996), conceived as both the recognition of this minority as the community of the Canongate and their derivative ethical right to participate in the shaping of the forms and spaces of the neighbourhood they inhabit. The residents' claim reflects a perception, prevalent in city planning discourses since the 1970s, that public participation in planning represents an ethical good, despite the fact that such participation is notoriously ill-defined within planning codes (Sorenson 2009; Weszkalnys 2009). Indeed, as Caltongate supporters effectively denied this right to the residents through their resistance to campaigners' input, they firstly attempted to create the appearance of planning consultation. Some proponents latterly argued that the campaigners had not actually represented the 'real' community of the Canongate, contributing to the appearance of the Canongate as a place in which 'the people are missing' (Deleuze 2005: 209). Widespread perceptions of public consultation as ethical practice required Caltongate's supporters to address campaigners' and other observers' expectations of providing community participation opportunities, while the lack of formal definitions of such opportunities enabled them to assert that they had complied with such expectations, in response to campaigners' subsequent accusations of exclusion from the planning processes.

This experience of exclusion and the Caltongate supporters' refusal to acknowledge the campaigners as the community of the Canongate prompted campaigners to pursue projects which emphasised their continuity with a historical Canongate community. In Deleuzian terms, they

were forced to ‘invent’ the people missing from the Canongate in Caltongate supporters’ characterisations. In representing themselves as the missing people and rooting their depictions of this people in the Canongate’s history, residents identified the present-day Canongate with a long-term residential community characterised by ethical practices which I have suggested represent a place-specific ethos of dwelling. By utilising this Deleuzian concept of *ethos*, I have emphasised the practice-based nature of this communal identification, as against imaginations of community identity which prioritise internal or achieved/static characteristics (Deleuze 1992; cf. Das 1998). Applying Deleuze’s idea of ethos as an ethical mode of being helps elucidate the Canongate-based campaigners’ desire to cultivate a sense of community belonging which is both ethical and active, such that identification with the Canongate may suggest a locally specific manner of living that privileges community and an attitude of respect and responsibility for the built environment. In support of the varied projects developed by campaigners, they have advocated for the ethical necessity of community activism, as a means of protecting that mode of being which they have represented as the long-standing Canongotian ethos of dwelling.

Such projects were pursued as a means of claiming recognition as the Canongate community and thereby asserting residents’ right to planning participation which supports the existence of a Canongate community and its associated ethos. Many of these projects have supported ongoing trajectories of becoming which are currently re-shaping the built environments of the Canongate and Old Town, as well as the future-orientated subjectivation of the residents themselves. The proposal of Caltongate presented the residents with the uncomfortable and yet potentially creative conditions of becoming-minor, to which they responded by opening up new connections and networks throughout Edinburgh in their pursuit of lines of flight from the majoritarian development ideals represented by Caltongate. Through

these projects, residents have cultivated a sense of community spirit in the Canongate and themselves, which as I have shown, instead of subsiding after Caltongate's approval by city councillors, has shaped subsequent and ongoing efforts at redeveloping both the Canongate and the larger Old Town. In so doing, these efforts have opened up lines of flight from the determinations of entrepreneurial city development strategies, creating possibilities as new trajectories along which residents may pursue their rights to the city, as participants in the shaping of their own urban neighbourhoods.

The case of the Canongate helps to illuminate the always-latent possibilities for a minority to open up new ways of thinking and new connections and pathways for action, despite the overdeterminations of established practices and the abstract standard of the majority. I have suggested that the Canongate residents represent one such minority, whose successes may be located in these particular projects of becoming, by which they have claimed collective recognition as the community of the Canongate and the right to shape the spaces and forms they inhabit. The long-term trajectories of these projects should be regarded as unstable, however, given the ever-present possibility of Caltongate's masterplan being taken forward by a willing developer. Recognition of the 'successes' of the residents must therefore be temporised by acknowledgement of the uncertainties which plague the ongoing redevelopment of the Canongate, seeming for the moment unavailable to negotiations with the residential community.

This thesis' engagement with the planning of Caltongate and the Canongate-based responses has illuminated the multiple nature of urban development and the incomplete determinations of urban governmentality, highlighting some possibilities for alternative action available to a Deleuzian minority. Such actions, especially when lacking the support of municipal authorities, are shown to be inherently unstable and vulnerable to counter-action

through the formal procedures of urban planning. The campaigners' appeal to an ethical yet unlegislated conscience of planning through their claims to represent the local community's pursuit of planning participation represents a strategic manoeuvre to ground their case in a widely accepted perspective on the ethics of planning. These claims were challenged by Caltongate supporters, however, while they attracted support from Edinburgh's heritage organisations and other neighbourhood groups. These experiences of the Canongate's campaigners evidence the difficulties for a particular group of residents in gaining acceptance for their claims to represent a community, reinforcing observations of the ambiguous definitions of community planning participation utilised in the practices of urban development.

The malleability of terms such as 'consultation' and 'engagement' in the rhetoric of commercial development proposals such as Caltongate has proven that without legal controls (and even possibly with them), the ability of community members to participate in the planning of their urban neighbourhood depends largely upon the will of the developer and municipal government representatives. Even highly organised and public campaigns such as SOOT, which succeeded in raising to public view many challenges and provocative questions about the development itself, as well as the procedures by which it was considered by members of the city council, have failed to force their participation in the face of unwilling or reluctant planning officials. Future research should attend to this question and further illuminate the opportunities available for establishing a minority voice in urban planning, under present conditions which have made a model of masterplans for large-scale prestige developments like Caltongate.

Nevertheless, as a strategy for engaging urban planning processes in Edinburgh, residents' pursuits of community planning projects have at least temporarily created possibilities for participation in the shaping of the city's built fabric and its use by inhabitants. As indications

of urban competition as a driving force motivating municipal planning strategies continue to multiply, however, and local growth coalitions pursue competitive advantage through ambitious development projects, the influence of unlegislated ethics of community planning participation will be tested. While an urban minority may continue to open up new lines of flight from these deterministic models of competitive development, support from municipal authorities is far from guaranteed, and the burden may ultimately rest on community groups and their ingenuity, resources and persistence in pursuing alternative projects and future trajectories of development. Residents of the Canongate feel that is significant that, as of summer 2012, the bell tower atop the Canongate Venture, claimed by city councillors in 2007 to be removed for restoration, has not yet been reconstructed, and Jock himself languishes in an unmarked crate somewhere inside his former roost.

Appendix

Interlocutors cited in the text

Anderson, Donald: (Interview + personal communication) Former head of Edinburgh City Council (Labour Party), vocal proponent of Canongate and currently employed by publicity firm PPS, who formerly represented Mountgrange.

Anne & Kathleen: (Reminiscence) Sisters, former residents of the Canongate in the 1950s and 1960s.

Balfe, Bern: (Interview + personal communication) Architect, former Old Town resident and active supporter of anti-Caltongate campaign throughout the proposal's live period.

Burgess, Steve: (Interview + personal communication) Green Party city councillor, member of Development Management sub-committee responsible for ultimate decision on Caltongate Masterplan's viability. Only consistent voice of opposition within that committee on the day of the final decision in February 2008. Married in the Canongate Kirk.

Catherine: (Interview) Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland member; Cockburn Association member

David: (Interview) Gardyloo campaign founder; Edinburgh At Risk member

Fraser, Malcolm: (Interview + personal communication) Contributing architect to Caltongate Masterplan, on the Jeffrey Street site. A respected architect in Edinburgh, who is critical of the work of Allan Murray, the lead architect on Caltongate. Currently working with Canongate residents to refurbish Canongate Venture building as a literary centre associated with the Scottish Storytelling Centre.

Grant, Catriona (Cat): (Personal communication) Current resident, inherited council flat in Canongate from her aunt. Social worker and self-proclaimed socialist. Became a prominent voice in the anti-Caltongate campaign by 2006; continues to participate in Old Town Development Trust.

Hughie: (Reminiscence) Long-term resident of Canongate; born in Dunbar's Close and currently residing in Whitefoord House, a Scottish Veterans' Residence.

Janet: (Interview) Mother of Julie Logan. Resident of the Canongate in the 1950s and 1960s.

Jackson, Jane: (Interview) Director of Edinburgh World Heritage Trust.

Jean (& Ian): (Interview) Resident of the Canongate for ten years, in Chessels Court. Husband Ian deceased in 2009.

Johnson, Jim: (Personal communication) Resident of the Canongate for 20+ years, on Jeffrey Street. Former director of Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust. Participant in SOOT campaign from 2006 and currently active in the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust.

Liam: SOOT campaign participant; Julie's half-brother; Dumbiedykes resident

Lily: (Personal communication) Owner of a women's clothing boutique which operated in the Canongate for 7 years. Christa worked as an employee in the Canongate shop, which closed in 2009 in favour of a location in New Town.

Logan, Julie: (Interview + personal communication) Resident of the Canongate for 17 years, trained in town planning but currently voluntarily unemployed, due to disillusionment with city planning practice. One of two founding members of anti-Caltongate protest, with Sally below; raising two children. Continues to organise public events under the Save Our Old Town name and is particularly active in issues related to the arts and democratic representation, respectively.

Margaret: (Personal communication) Former resident of the Canongate (born in Lochend's Close in the 1930s), currently resides in nearby Southside and actively supported anti-Caltongate protest. Co-facilitated reminiscences with Christa and continues to participate in Old Town Community Council and Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust activities.

Margot: (Reminiscence) Current and former resident of the Canongate. Born and raised in Canongate, left Edinburgh for Roslyn when she married and then later returned to the Canongate.

Morag: (Reminiscence) Former resident of the Canongate and Dumbiedykes. Was moved with her husband and two children to social housing on the outskirts of Edinburgh in the 1970s, but returned to the city centre when her children got older. Currently lives in Leith, which maintains the small shops (greengrocers, bakers) which the Canongate has mostly lost.

Nikki: (Personal communication) SOOT campaign participant; Julie's daughter

Rhiannon: (Interview + personal communication) Current resident, participated in anti-Caltongate protest events.

Richardson, Sally: (Personal communication) Resident of the Canongate for 10+ years, originally from a farming community in Angus. Works in the home, raising two school-age children. Moved in 2010 with family to the nearby 'artist community' at Abbeyhill, while remaining active in the Edinburgh Old Town Development Trust.

Sean: Dumbiedykes IT Centre volunteer

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